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ABSTRACT

In this report, the proceedings during a conference on women in public life are described. Four papers given at the conference, "After Mexico City, What?" by Elizabeth Reid, "The American Woman In A Changing World," by Barbara Jordan, "American Women and American Foreign Policy,.. by Carol Laise, and "Power--How To Get It and How To Use It," by Martha Griffiths, are reprinted, Panel discussions about women in power and the women's movement in the eyes of the media are summarized. Fifteen workshops, covering a wide variety of topics of interest to Texas women, are outlined. The conclusions of the conference regarding women's possibilities and expectations for the future are summarized. Conference and workshop schedules, as well as a list of participants, are included. (WI)

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WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE

Report of a Conference

co-sponsored by the
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and the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs
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INTRODUCTION

No conference at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library had ever been like it. Packed sessions at the auditorium; overflow crowds in the hallways; participants seated in rooms adjacent to the main hall. The crowd was estimated to be more than 1,600. The tone of the sessions was wide ranging, swinging from star-studded theatre to serious seminar-like discussions. While the participants clearly did not represent all of the women in Texas, they did reflect much of the geography, ages, races and ethnic background of the women in the state.

The sessions exuded vitality. Whether expressing anger, humor, or hope, the emotion in that auditorium was open and intense. For some in the audience, the three-day gathering resembled a revival meeting. For others, the sessions were full of information and serious questions. Others were struck by the response of the participants–like the 80-year-old woman who left the conference threatening now to change her life.

The Conference itself was conceived in conversations between representatives of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, the Lyndon Baines Johnson Foundation, and the Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs. A Foundation authorization for a conference to be sponsored jointly by the Library and the School seemed appropriately directed toward women during International Women's Year (IWY). The conversants knew that there were many aspects of women's activities that would provide the subject for an important conference. But what issue would be more appropriate for the setting than an exploration of problems of Women in Public Life?

By the early summer of 1975, feminist Liz Carpenter, former press secretary to Mrs. Johnson, was brought into the planning sessions and authorized to be Conference Coordinator. The Washington-Texas connection went into full swing. Foreign policy specialists working out of the State Department on IWY were consulted and included in the planning. Liz Carpenter found that the U.S. Committee on Women in Power was interested in dovetailing their first open sessions with the inchoate conference; thus that Committee entered the fold. Former Texans, current Texans, and friends of Texans in the media were contacted and a panel discussion on the women's movement through the eyes of the media was concocted. Students in a seminar on policy on the status of women at the LBJ School were included in the planning and given the job of planning and carrying out 15 workshops during the Conference sessions. By the end of the summer, most of the Austin-based women involved in public life were contacted, their advice sought and their participation promised.

The skeleton was beginning to be filled out by the end of September. Lady Bird Johnson had written to each woman elected official through the state, inviting them to attend the November meeting. Lists of potential invitees were gathered and letters of invitation sent to them. Fannie Lou Spelce, primitive artist residing in Austin, produced a delightful painting to be used as the cover of the Conference program. The support services within the University–particularly the University News and Information Service–made sure that information about the Conference was dispersed throughout the state.

The Conference call attempted to describe the International Women's Year Conference on Women in Public Life:

> It's an opportunity for women who are involved or want to be to share common and uncommon problems, to pursue common and uncommon goals, to exchange ideas, to support each other's right to political power. It's a forum for women in city, county, state and national government. For women in party politics. For women in labor unions. For women in local, state and federal civil service–in the United States and abroad. For elected and appointed officials. For volunteers. For women observing the political arena from the viewpoint of the media. For women of every possible persuasion. From liberal to conservative. From militant to conciliatory. It's a chance for young women still in school or just beginning their careers to learn from the experiences of those who have preceded them into this virtually uncharted territory. A territory where there are no roles and few models, but only the challenge of gaining equal access to power. And using it effectively.
>
> *–Beryl A. Radin*

AFTER MEXICO CITY—WHAT?

Elizabeth Reid

I have taken my topic—*After Mexico City—What?*—very seriously, for obvious reasons. The reason, for example, why I am in the United States; namely, that I have resigned from a job which was unique in the world and unique in its effectiveness. I have come here and discovered here, too, a backlash. I have gone to the United Nations to watch and to listen to the debates on the Mexico City resolutions; to discuss with the delegations their attitudes, what they are going to do. I have found a backlash there. I have found a backlash around the world. Everywhere. In women and in men. So, after Mexico City, what next? The obvious and tragic answer is a backlash.

And the next answer, if you know your history, is nothing. Now that is a very negative, tragic, message. But that is the reality as I see it. And if that is the reality, and if we are going to be realistic, then we must acknowledge that, and fight them and beat them, but not be blind to the reality and pretend that it does not exist. For that reason I want to talk about something that is both the concern of this conference and a very real concern of the delegates from every part of the world to the Mexico conference.

There, and here, there is a particular emphasis on the need for women to participate in the decision making processes at all levels: at local, regional, national, and international political levels, and in any other institution where decisions are being taken which are affecting our lives, affecting the lives of women, decisions in which we are not participating. So we must look at our participation and demand participation in aid programs, global corporations, and the media.

But I want to make one point bluntly to begin with: I do not see this demand as a demand for more women in those institutions. It is not more women that we want in them. Women are as diverse in their motives, in their abilities, in their capacities, in their ideologies, in where they are going and what they want, as men are. We do not want just women in there. We have to have feminists in there. That is, we have to have women who are aware of what or at least aware—they may not be aware of what they are going into—but are going into it to change it. These are the women that we need in there. Other women, of course, may well be forced to go in because they need jobs, but if we are talking about changing the world, if we are talking about changing American society, or Australian society, or Niger society, or any other society, then we are talking about having devoted feminists in there. But, if we do not give them support, these women will be, utterly, personally destroyed as human beings.

Now, I want to have a closer look at what actually happens to women who go into the political institutions, and I do it for this reason: I feel strongly that if those of us who have gone in do not pass on to others what we have lived through and what we have learned, then each person going in will live through the same agony, pain, and destruction, and will come out maybe having achieved a little, but could have achieved so much more if they had gone in informed.

I am a very ordinary person from a very ordinary background. My parents were teachers. I have traveled, I have lived the life of a nomad, from country town to country town. I had no party political background at all. I was a teacher of philosophy. I loved teaching. I loved my students. I loved my subject. I loved reading, and I loved walking. I had never gone into party politics because I despised it. I thought it was a world where motivation was always that of expediency and rarely that of principles. So I had stayed well outside it. My only contact with politics had been when I had been the campaign manager for an aboriginal woman who had stood in the federal election in 1972. We fought hard and long within the system of preferential voting, to get the Canberra electorate to register a protest vote, both about women and about aborigines. She came from our poorest areas, with 6 children, had left school at 13. It was stunning how superbly she campaigned, and the effect that she had was quite significant because that electorate was, of course, that of the Australian capital territory, the seat of government.

But that had been my only contact with politics. In my application and in my interviews, I made it clear that

my personal background was in the radical women's movement. I said that if they were looking for a token woman, somebody utterly acceptable and quiet spoken, who would window-dress the newly elected Labor Government—Labor had been in opposition for 23 years and had a platform of social reforms, a tremendously exciting foreign affairs platform—then do not look at me unless you are prepared to accept the fact that my background is in the women's liberation movement, in the Women's Electoral Lobby, in the campaign against moral persecution, in the Abortion Law Reform Association, as well as in Civil Rights movements.

I also felt that I had to make it clear to them that I had written and spoken on a wide range of topics, which ranged from "The Reason Why I'm Out Fighting for Equality," through "Women in the Criminal Code," to an article and a speech on "Masturbation and Female Sexuality," an important topic that affects the lives of every woman, particularly as she grows older. And I was right in mentioning that before I got the job, because that hit the press six weeks later, it hit question time in Parliament seven weeks later, and two-and-a-half years later, in the budget debate in the Senate, a week before I resigned, I was still being sneered at as "that woman who wrote about orgasm without copulation." And I had to make it clear that I was separated, and that my daughter had lived always with her father. And I had to make that clear because exactly what I predicted happened, happened. I was ranted at from every pulpit and from every right-to-life, and from every anti-government platform as being an unnatural woman.

Okay. So the government had decided that, new to power, it wanted a system of advisors, people from within the community who would advise it on policy issues and on programs of action. And immediately after coming to power, the Prime Minister decided to create on his staff a position of advisor on matters relating to women. His staff is very small. There are only about four or five people that you could effectively describe as advisors. The advisors have 24-hour-a-day access, seven days a week, and are advisors on anything, but my particular area of responsibility was women.

I want to point out that in fact it was the only job that the government has ever filled that they advertised for. All the other jobs were filled by men from the "old boys network." This job was advertised. And stunningly and happily, 450 Australian women, many of them living in their homes in the suburbs, applied for that job, and the applications make very, very touching reading.

Somehow or other, despite everything, I happened to be the one who got that job. I do not know how, quite honestly. Most of those women were stunning, and that is a very significant point. That is, the world is full of stunning and capable women. I am the historical freak because it was a historical freak that it happened to be me rather than anybody else.

At this stage I also want to make it clear that I went in with a very strong ideological framework. I had spoken to my mother and her mother and to the old women in the community—the women who had fought for decades and decades. I had sat at their feet and listened to their stories and their fights. I had read the declarations out of Seneca Falls; I had read all the early literature of the movement; I had read literature in developing countries as well as in the developed countries. Somehow our list of demands over those centuries have remained identical. Other than the vote, we are still asking for exactly the same things. Why?

CHANGING ATTITUDES

So it became clear that that job should not be one which just pressed for those things that women so justly need and is so rightly theirs. It had to be a job which could be used to attempt to change the causes, to get at the causes of these problems in the first place.

Now, the changes that we are asking for are, of course, justly ours, and they must be achieved, but what we have got to learn from our grandmothers and our great-grandmothers, and what we have got to work out for ourselves, is that they are not going to change the world, they are not revolutionary demands. Such demands as equal pay for work of equal value, child care, women's health centers, rape crisis counseling centers, and on down the list of our demands, are not revolutionary demands. We could be given every single one of these demands and next year we would have an almost identical list of problems. So we had to do two things. We had to recognize that achieving these demands gave women the possibility of becoming, in our sense, revolutionaries. It gave them the possibility of a little peace of mind and of economic and emotional independence, which would enable them to look at their lives and ask what they wanted changed. It would bring them to the brink of a revolution. But our task was to help them over it.

The second thing that became clear was that the most important thing we had to face was the need to change the attitudes in our society—the attitudes that exist in our heads as much as in the heads of the men in the society, of the children, and of the older people. The attitudes about what we can and cannot do. The attitudes which limit us in our ambitions, a word by which I do not mean "upward mobility." I mean perhaps an ambition to be free and independent and walk tall. We have to learn to walk tall. That is something that happens in our heads; not in the outside world.

The changes we want are quite radical in the sense that up until now it has been thought that if you have a social problem those people whose responsibility it is to change that problem have always believed that by changing something in the institution will bring about a solution to the problem. Our demands are a re-definition of radicalism. It is not institutional changes that we are demanding; it is changes inside every single head in our society.

Now the demands that we ask for could be divided into two categories: those for equity, just straight out fair play and justice; and those designed to meet pressing needs. Now those demands—the equity demands—the demands designed to correct past injustices, include, for example, equal pay, child care, maternity leave, equal educational training, employment, promotion, and recruitment.

In Australia until recently almost nothing had been spent on child care. We went from 5 to 75 million Australian dollars, which is something like 92-95 million American. We got a retraining scheme which was designed to retrain both unemployed women and under-employed women. We must remember that most women in our community are in fact underemployed. We must look not only at the problem of unemployment, but we must also look at the problem of under-employment.

We wanted anti-discrimination committees in every state and federal level. We exempted the matrimonial home from death duties, the family estate from death duties, on the grounds that the person who stayed at home to look after the house and to work within the house contributed as much to the value of the house as the person who went into the work force and actually made the cash payments. So that was an attempt to revalue women's work.

We have a report that is just about to be submitted to Parliament on the education of girls, which has gone into history as well as the present throughout Australia, and has categorized everything that is happening to girls and women teachers in our schools, with recommendations for change.

The Labor Government is itself, as your federal government is, an employer. It introduced equal pay, with no phasing in, immediately. I have mentioned these changes we worked for but, of course, we have to attack the root causes of the problems. We have to attack the attitudes, the assumptions, myths, beliefs, prejudices, cliches, which exist within our society about women. And that was the task which we in Australia set ourselves to achieve in International Women's Year. It is, of course, an impossible task, but, on the other hand, I think impossible tasks are what we have to set ourselves so that we get further than anywhere else.

THE WORLD OF POLITICS

I want to mention some of the problems that I have experienced or I have seen in the world of politics. The first problem is just to begin to learn the sort of games that are played. I had never realized that politics was game-playing. I had always thought that politics was bringing about the changes that were needed in a society, but I was so very wrong. Politics is game-playing and these games have been institutionalized down through the ages by the people who have been playing them. The most important point about the games that are played in the world of politics is that they are beginning to change, and they are beginning to change as we go into these institutions, demanding change. And the first new game since we have come in, is what you might call the "Sex Object Game."

The more pleasing a woman is to the eye of the beholder, the more likely she is to be listened to. And so I learned to wear makeup, and stockings, and dresses, and do my hair, and smile sweetly, because I was really serious about my message. I wanted changes to occur. I wore nothing but sandals and jeans before I got that job. I learned fast that if I walked into a room in jeans and sandals everybody would just sit back and block their mind; it was not even a conscious response. However, if I turned up as a potential you-know-what, they at least listened.

Now linked with this is the inability of these people to perceive women as people. Women going into the power game make the automatic presumption that we will be communicating on a person-to-person basis. However, many men seem unable to overcome years of bad habits. I mean, we are just not perceived as persons.

There is a worse version of this game, and that is the "Invisible Woman Syndrome." You may have a very valuable contribution at a meeting; you could even be the expert on the topic in the room. You say what you have to say, and the meeting continues. Five minutes later it is then repeated, often word for word, if they are smart enough. It is repeated by some man in the room, and immediately the meeting grinds to a halt, and somebody says, "You're quite right." "That's very significant." "Yes, indeed." "Perhaps we should do that."

And that is what it is like being a woman in these power games. And that gives rise to a lot of questions about compromise and how far we can and how far we will go in order to achieve our aims.

I want to mention a few other things about women in politics. First is our impotence. If we make a threat,

compare the effect of that to the threat of a strike by the labor unions.

Secondly, we have no jugular instinct. We are brought up to respect the old-fashioned virtues: devotion, trust, loyalty, humaneness, etc. And so we fail, because those who succeed go straight for the jugular vein.

And then there are also the politicians' perceptions. Women's groups such as the National Women's Political Caucus, NOW, the League of Women Voters, and radical feminists, are not seen as representing women, but, if you ask, "How do you find out about women?" their answer is, "Oh, I ask my wife."

And there is also, if you go into politics–and it is doubly worsened in the case of a woman–a total lack of privacy. If you are a married woman with children, you will have to put up not just with the total lack of privacy in your own home, but with the total lack of privacy in your public life, and that amounts to a total lack of privacy, and every human being needs somewhere to retire to sometime.

Politics and going into politics, working in it, destroys the relationships that you have in your life, and it destroys the possibility of relationships. It puts a strain on everyone around you: spouses, children, parents, and friends.

And that, of course, is in conflict with our traditional Florence Nightingale role, because it is us; we are the ones that are meant to be supporting them. But we are asking of them that they support us, and that they sustain us, and they understand, and that is very, very difficult.

There is a resistance to change within the whole community, but it is, I think, particularly strong in relation to women. It is based on a lot of reasons and a lot of causes, but mostly it is based on fear. It is based on fear from women and fear from men. The fear from women is very analogous to the slave situation. When offered freedom the reply was, "But I have got security here. I am happy. I am looked after." And that is the reply you will get. And when somebody says they are happy, the press will say, "Women are happy in the lives they have got now. What right have you to try and change them?" But if you sit and talk with those women about the details of their lives, then you will begin to understand the full extent of the lives of women.

We are brought up not to complain. So, of course we say we are happy. We would be going against our own conditioning if we did not. And that is very difficult.

I would like to have gone through some of the problems that face women all around the world, but let me just briefly say industrialization, in developing countries, means that women are losing jobs and dignity, and yet we are saying progress and industrialization is a good thing. Literacy is also a problem for women, and it is a problem not only in developing countries.

The minority of women in the world are white, and the minority of the women in the world living heterosexual, monogamous marriages. The majority of the women in the world choose either not to live in a heterosexual marriage, or not to live in a monogamous marriage. So let us not be too narrow in our concerns and in our understanding of women. Women are very diverse. Women, in fact, are leading very diverse lifestyles, but we do not acknowledge it, not even us women, much less our legislators, much less the people who make the decisions for us.

We have to take the world into our own hands, but we have to do it not to get more privileges for us. We have to understand that we are fighting for women–for all women. But the fight is not easy. We are going through a period of total backlash. We will have to become extraordinarily sophisticated in the strategies that we use, but most of all, we are going to have to realize that the changes that we are fighting for are not just changes in the world out there; they are changes in each one of us, for each one of us puts down at least one woman every day.

COMMON AND UNCOMMON PROBLEMS AROUND THE WORLD

In every country of the world, without exception, women are at a disadvantage in comparison to men in one or more respects–legal, economic, social, political, or educational.

This assertion about the universal nature of problems faced by women was made by *Dr. Ruth Bacon*, director of the United States Center for International Women's Year.

A focal point for any consideration of women on an international scale was the United Nations World Conference on International Women's Year held in Mexico City earlier in 1975. Dr. Bacon said:

> One of the amazements of many Americans at Mexico City was to find women from developing countries who are well educated, who held positions of power and responsibility in their government, legislatures, supreme courts, high positions throughout the business and professional world.
>
> . . . Even in the poorest countries there are women who do have great advantages. In addition to the other advantages, they have a domestic staff to run their households and they have a many-generation family to help out. The privileged women in developing countries really have it made.
>
> Of course, below them there is a big gap. There are the many millions of women who do not have it made, and they were not in Mexico City. They were talked about, but they were not there.

IMPRESSIONS OF MEXICO CITY

Jill Ruckelshaus, director of the United States Commission for International Women's Year, noted the ironical situation at the Mexico City Conference where men were in the official leadership positions.

She said, "The power to direct the outcome of the Conference belonged to the United Nations and to the national government establishments and we simply were not there in numbers enough to be decisive in the outcome."

The women in Mexico City "ran headlong into an unescapable conclusion," Ms. Ruckelshaus said, "It was a world conference for women and we weren't running it."

Calling the United Nations "an unequal employer," she said, "No woman has ever, in the 29-year history of the U.N., been the secretary general. There are now no women among the 19 under-secretaries general. There was only one woman in the list of 16 assistant secretaries-general. Over one-third of the delegations to the U.N. have no women on them."

Ms. Ruckelshaus noted that the first and only woman who addressed the Mexico City Conference on the opening day was Helvi Sipila, secretary general of the conference, who told the assembled delegates, "Men cannot claim exclusive right to shape forever the future of our world."

"The common denominator," Ms. Ruckelshaus said, "was concern. . . and desire to effect change, which would eliminate the barriers to full participation by women."

She commented:

> We were, however, divided by nationalistic, political, international rhetoric, by some chauvinism. But by the last two days of the Conference there was a real feeling of impatience, that our issues, that the valid concerns that affect women, that feminism was being swept under the rug of international politics.

Ms. Ruckelshaus issued a call to activism:

> Each of us must become activists in our own style. Each of us must make the risky, individual acts of affirmation and courage, challenging definitions we learned in childhood; often challenging beings in our lives whom we love, perhaps our fathers, perhaps our mothers, perhaps our husbands and brothers.
>
> Negativism, bitterness, cynicism, the impulse to drop out–however understandable–are luxuries no woman in the world can afford. There is much too much to be done and it will not come to pass in the fullness of time. We have to learn how to push open the doors that have been closed to us for so long.

> The power structure, we have all seen, is not willingly going to admit women in significant enough numbers to change the direction. We cannot afford to split off into narrow splinter groups, dissenting over variations of emphasis on the theme of discrimination, and attacking whatever female leaders may surface from time to time.

Turning to specific issues, Ms. Ruckelshaus said the Equal Rights Amendment was stalled "because we do not control the legislatures and we aren't organized enough to educate public opinion."

She said issues such as the ERA "are not taken seriously by the public or by the media."

"Full political participation," said Ms. Ruckelshaus, "is the answer to the kind of world that we want to live in." She added:

> There is no point in adopting a world plan of action, unless there is representation for women in the body that will implement the world plan. But we, as women, have no right to that power, unless we intend to do things differently than men.
>
> Women have the capacity to bring something new into the arena of social, economic, and political struggle. We saw that common ground at Mexico City. I believe every woman there felt it at the end. We were wearied with the establishment world, insensitive and inhuman.

Ms. Ruckelshaus concluded with "one of my favorite proverbs from an earlier generation in this country":

> I swear it to you, on my common woman's head, that a common woman is as common as a common loaf of bread—and will rise.

EMERGING FROM THE VEIL

Picking up on the theme of political participation, *Elizabeth Fernea* said the most hopeful note among women in the Middle East is participation at the grass-roots level. She said women are gaining political positions such as town council chairperson or mayor in small towns. "No one expected this," she said, "because this is where women are supposed to be illiterate and politically inactive."

Ms. Fernea, an author and teacher who has lived and worked with women's programs in Morocco, Egypt, and Iraq, said that women in the Middle East are entering the arena of public life on their own, and called this "a rather hopeful omen."

This is being done, Ms. Fernea said, "by using the strengths developed from their own cultures—strengths developed in managing large families over long periods."

She noted that "the old approach—power through men—is still apparent," with "token women" appointed to the cabinets of Middle Eastern governments. These women "are obviously of good family, close to other cabinet members who are men, who will, of course, be able to shape the decisions that are actually made."

Ms. Fernea said the veil of Middle Eastern women is confused with a symbol of servitude, but that it has never prevented women from influencing public life. She pointed to a "revival of women's movements on all levels" in the last five years.

WOMEN IN AFRICA

Panelist *Sarale A. Owens*, a United States Information Agency program development officer, drew upon her extensive experience in Africa to describe the situation of women on that continent. When she first visited Africa in 1960, independence was just coming to many of the nations. At that time African women were working to raise the level of education for girls and were seeking help in recruiting and training volunteers for community services. Today, she reported, they have such organizations as the National Council of Women's Societies, "which is the umbrella body that brings in all the volunteer services."

She emphasized that in increasing numbers African women are serving as judges, mayors, members of the diplomatic service, as members of parliaments. She noted that in Kenya, which did not become independent until 1963, six women have been elected to parliament. However, Ms. Owens indicated that despite this active role by women, 80 percent of African women are still in agriculture, with most of them living in rural settings.

She said that on the national level, educated women are trying to develop national policies to involve women at the planning level. Efforts are being made to develop national women's commissions or women's bureaus. "They are trying to get more information about the women and get better opportunities for them."

Through the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, headquartered in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, an African Women's Development Task Force has been established to assist women in education, training, employment, communication, health, and nutrition. Further, they are hoping to develop programs to assist women in moving into policy-making positions. "They feel this is where they must do the job, to help overcome tradition," Ms. Owens said.

REPORT FROM CHINA

Having just returned from China, *Elly Peterson*, consultant to the National Center for Voluntary Action and former assistant chairperson of the Republican

National Committee, offered her impressions of the role of Chinese women. She said: "I have never met so many women with such great leadership qualities."

She said the Chinese women "appear to be totally selfless, but they are delightful companions, filled with wit and good humor." She described them "as totally committed to a goal that does not personally guarantee them fame or fortune or even comfort." This, she said, is one of the most striking factors about Chinese women. "They all appear united in their goal."

"Today's woman of China has moved light years from her grandmother," Ms. Peterson said. "Although there is still a close and loving home life in China today, almost all women work outside the house."

She said, "They have equality under the law, but just like their American sisters, they have to fight to maintain it."

"I would say their average of participation in the real running of China is no higher than ours in Washington, today," Ms. Peterson said, although noting that women are active in the "revolutionary committees" and are more involved in running industry than women in the U.S.

Ms. Peterson concluded:

> They reiterate that their gains are great, but they must have more. . .They made no bones about their committment to the Marx-Lenin-Mao line. Yet you felt that here was a group of women with whom Americans could work, with whom we could relate, with whom in fact, we could become great friends.

THE LATIN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

"I believe women today control nothing—neither governments, news media, corporations, universities, nor international organizations." *Elba Kybal*, an economist for the Organization of American States. "Women are not responsible for war or peace, inflation or recession, for development or underdevelopment. These are common problems the women of Latin America share with women from all over the world."

Ms. Kybal pointed to the smaller number of women in high-level positions in international organizations and in diplomatic service.

She said, however, that "in spite of the more limited opportunities, women in Latin America have gained office, whether appointive or elective, as much as women in the United States.

> Latin America women make up from 3 to 12 percent of their congresses; not so low a percentage, in comparison with the United States, where women are only in the House of Representatives and make up less than 5 percent of the total. . .The situation in Latin America is improving.
>
> In the executive branch, out of 300 cabinet members in the Western Hemisphere, less than 2 percent are women. Only four countries in Latin America have women in their cabinets. In the United States, only one women has a cabinet position.

Ms. Kybal believes that "times are changing." She said, "Events pertaining to women's affairs in the U.S. have had a demonstrable effect in Latin America."

One factor she cited was inflation, noting that "only one member of a family often cannot support the whole family, even if the head of the household has more than one job, as is customary in Latin America."

She said, "Advances in the education of women are making a dent in the number of women entering the labor market," and noted that women are seeking high-level positions, even in the "masculine" professions.

Still, said Ms. Kybal, women's affairs in Latin America and elsewhere are "relegated to a corner"

> to be dealt with in the less powerful departments of governments, with low levels of resources, in offices without policy-making decisions, disconnected with important issues of the day.

She said the disinterest in women's affairs was "exemplified by the poor and biased news coverage of the International Women's Year, in general, and of the Mexico City Conference, in particular."

Ms. Kybal catalogued her own experience "as a professional women from Latin America in a man's world," citing examples of "paternalism," various barriers thrown up by male officials, and efforts to relegate her to secondary roles.

JAPANESE WOMEN

The world has an incorrect stereotyped view of Japanese women, according to *Dorothy Robins-Mowry*, a foreign service officer with the United States Information Agency who spent ten years (1963-1973) working with the Japanese.

She said, "The world regards the Japanese women . . .perhaps more than almost any other single national group, in stereotype terms."

"It is not true," Ms. Robins-Mowry said. "They are not all geisha. They are not all timid housewives. . .They are coming out and taking an important part in public affairs," she said.

The Japanese women "like so many women coming out of traditional society," balance the old traditions and the modern requirements and responsibilities.

She said that World War II and the American Occupation was a watershed period for the Japanese women.

> With the American Occupation, they received in the new constitution, equal rights, legally, and socially, the end of the patriarchal family. Indeed . . .they had more rights than we did here in the United States. They certainly had equal pay for equal work, in theory if not actually.

Ms. Robins-Mowry said more recently there has been a movement of women into the political arena, following the period of concentration on social changes. "It's the younger women who are beginning to make a new impact on the political life," she said. "They carry it out through something which is called the citizens' movement."

She noted that it has been the younger women who have gone into higher education and now represent 31 percent of the college and university students. "This is pretty good for a society which before the war did not allow women to enter the Imperial University."

Calling the Japanese women "the architects of the social change which has been going on in Japan in the last 30 years," she said they have balanced their traditions with the changes essential in a modern society. "They have done it with strength and dignity and without the stereotypes with which the world labels them."

SUMMARY

Simone Poulain, former deputy director of the Department of State's Office of Press Relations, noted that the Mexico City Conference had served to demonstrate "that women, worldwide, share certain basic problems."

She said there is a "spreading epidemic throughout the world" for women to become a part of public life and influence the events around them. "It's moving slowly in some areas and spreading like wildfire in others, so that it cannot be stopped."

THE AMERICAN WOMAN IN A CHANGING WORLD

Women "have difficulty defining ourselves in terms of whole human beings," according to *United States Representative Barbara Jordan* of Houston. Representative Jordan said, "We reduce the definition of our lives, just a little bit, because somewhere in the back of our minds is the thought that we really are not quite equal."

She commented, "In spite of what we say, there is the thought that we are not yet quite equal."

This, said Ms. Jordan, is "nobody's fault but ours" because "even though we talk a good game, we don't really act out the equality we say we feel."

Ms. Jordan said:

> In this country, we have climbed over some of the legal obstacles which affect women. We have gotten around some of those social and educational obstacles and barriers and moved ahead to opportunity in those areas. But there can be no letup; there can be no slackening of effort, because we still must keep a momentum building, growing, sustained.

WOMEN AS A MINORITY

Speaking of the obstacles faced by women, Ms. Jordan said women are treated as a minority. She said the Small Business Administration "will grant a loan to a black urban ghetto much more quickly than it will to a business which is headed by a woman."

"We are a minority in the sense that the Small Business Administration treats us like one."

She said the SBA has a budget of about $2.5 billion and loaned only $194 million to women's businesses.

> That figure accounted for scarcely 4 percent of the loans which were granted by SBA. Now something's wrong there, and I hope you will get some idea of what is wrong at SBA and the National Science Foundation and the White House and every other agency of the government where women remain in the sub-basement of life.

Representative Jordan said progress on ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment "is good, but we are still four states short."

> The amendment is so simple, that in all of the negative rhetoric which you have heard about it, some of us who are for the amendment have had to go back and read it and see exactly what it says. It's very simple: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any other state on account of sex."
>
> Now, to me, that is stated in plain, simple, ordinary English. Yet there are those who have great difficulty understanding, allegedly, what those words mean.

The Equal Rights Amendment is in "total conformity" with the basic American historical documents, including the Declaration of Independence and the Preamble to the Constitution, Ms. Jordan said.

Representative Jordan cited two studies on discrimination against women, which point out the obstacles which must be overcome.

A United Nations report on *Implementation of the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women* summarized replies from 39 governments on efforts to comply with this declaration. She quoted from the report:

> In light of the information received, it is clear that among the major stumbling blocks in the path to the full *de facto* recognition of the rights by women, irrespective of the degree of national development, are the traditional concepts of the roles men and women must assume in the family, in the community, and in the society at large. . .

Representative Jordan said that according to the report, "It is that assumed traditional role which more than anything else has to do with impediments to the achievements of the rights of women."

She also referred to a study by a Cornell University economics professor, Marjorie Galenson:

> Professor Galenson demonstrates the way in which these traditional prejudices against women outside of the home transcend religion, transcend nationality, political systems, and the state of economic development. According to Professor Galenson, whether women work as doctors or sculiery maids, not just in the United States, but throughout the industrialized world, "women are at the bottom of the totem pole in the job market, regardless of the job."

Representative Jordan said that Professor Galenson's study of conditions around the world indicated that even women trained in the professions tend to start at the bottom.

> In the private sector, government programs to eliminate discrimination are just beginning. We have not yet come to the point of equal pay for equal work, or equal pay for that person who is doing the job which earns a rate of pay comparable to the highest rate of pay earned by anyone in that particular profession.

She said the problem is the same no matter what the country, and asked "How are we going to change all of that? How are we going to somehow reverse the trend that has women at the bottom of whatever profession?"

She said that "it is going to take long, hard, slow, tedious work, and we begin with ourselves. We begin with our own self-concept."

THE FEDERAL LEVEL

Representative Jordan, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, said that women must work to see that the laws are complied with because even when laws specifically prohibit discrimination, they are not always enforced. She cited the example of the Equal Credit Opportunity Act, which the Federal Reserve Board is supposed to enforce. That act, she said, states that there can be "no discrimination on the basis of sex or marital status."

However, according to Representative Jordan, the SBA says that the Equal Credit Opportunity Act does not apply to the agency.

> I can only say, "Nonsense." The Act is the law and we will see to it that the Small Business Administration complies with the law.

Other federal action mentioned by Representative Jordan included tax relief for single taxpayers and "an effort to increase the deduction for child care services necessary." She also stated:

> We are also going to pass legislation to place into law the recent Supreme Court decision which said, in effect, that women ought not be discriminated against in terms of benefits emanating from Social Security.

That is, the widow ought to be as entitled to benefits as a widower is entitled to benefits under the law.

Thus, the legislative agenda outlined by Representative Jordan includes:

- Survivor's benefits
- Tax deductions for child care
- Social Security for homemakers
- Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Beyond this, Representative Jordan said,

> . . .the women of this world, as the women of Texas and the women of the United States, must exercise a leadership quality, dedication, a concern and a commitment which is not going to be shattered by inanities and ignorance and idiots, who would view our cause as one which somehow is violative of the American dream of equal rights for everybody. All we are trying to do is to make this government of the United States of America honest.
>
> We only want, we only ask, that when we stand up and talk about one nation under God, liberty, justice for everybody; we only want to be able to look at the flag, put our right hand over our hearts, repeat those words, and know that they are true.

AMERICAN WOMEN AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Carol Laise

If there is any area in which this country's women have had an unquestionably crucial influence, it has been in shaping public opinion on the fundamental issues facing the American people–issues of purpose, principle, and the responsibility we have to future generations.

And these are cardinal problems our country faces today. As the President and the Secretary of State have pointed out time and again, America's major challenge is not to our ability, but to our will. There is no question but that our nation has the human resources required to solve the vast range of problems that now beset us–and all the industrial democracies. Our technological genius, the enterprise of our commerce and industry, the vitality of our labor force–all these are sufficient, and more.

But what we must regain if we hope to influence the shape of our future, and that of our children–is a sense of unity, of purpose, of national consensus on the problems we face and the objectives we seek.

In the era of the New England town meeting our citizens were intimately and constantly concerned with current issues affecting the public interest. But in today's more complex world, when our problems are national or international in scope and implication, public involvement is more hesitant, less ready to make itself felt.

Thoughtful discussion of foreign affairs is declining in the public media. The international dimension in our school curricula is still discouragingly thin. Private organizations around the country which promote public study and discussion of our world affairs are losing membership and financial support as foundations and corporate donors have reoriented their efforts toward programs more narrowly domestic in scope.

Yet the need for public involvement in, and consensus for, our nation's international activities and objectives is greater today than at any time in our 200 years of nationhood. In the era of the Cold War our national challenge was relatively straightforward; substantial consensus existed among the American people and government as to our national objectives and responsibilities.

The trends we see today in the world make evident that we have entered an historical era of unprecedented complexity and uncertainty. In this situation deeper public participation in the foreign policy debate is not only essential, *it is inevitable*. We and all peoples of the world are moving toward the recognition that interdependence poses imperatives: that we must either cooperate for progress or risk mutual decline.

And Americans are coming to the recognition that our well-being here at home is inextricably bound up with decisions and events elsewhere in the world. The oil embargo of 1973 and the long lines at the gas pumps should have brought home to every American the reality that all Americans unavoidably are involved in international affairs. Today, we are dependent on other nations for gasoline, oil, and other raw materials as well–for markets to sell agricultural and manufactured goods. At the same time other nations rely on us for food, for investment capital, for management skills and technology.

But these relatively familiar aspects of interdependence are only one of the trends which are shaping events around us. Let me review some of the others.

–First, the era of American predominance is over. We are no longer the sole nuclear power. In addition, new centers of power and influence–political, economic, and social, have developed around the globe. We can no longer expect our voice or our interests to get a hearing automatically in world councils. Power now has many components. While we remain the world's strongest military nation, military power is less and less relevant to political, economic and social goals. American leadership remains crucial to world peace and progress. But we can no longer impose solutions. Success will require the construction of extensive patterns of consultation, negotiation and cooperation with other nations.

–Second, threats to peace are as great, if not greater than ever. The absence of global war for a generation and the new and hopeful movement toward better relations with the Soviet Union and China should not blind us to this fact. Nuclear weapons are more devastating than ever; nuclear capabilities are spreading

to country after country. And bitter regional wars, such as in the Middle East could lead to global confrontation at any time. In this context the American people must be concerned about our efforts to contain the arms race, to work with other nations to halt nuclear proliferation, and to help settle regional conflicts.

–Third, is an enormous increase in momentum in what has been called the challenge from the Third World. It is evident that all nations are part of a single global economy. America and the other great industrial nations have provided the engine for the world economy for decades and our corporations and industries have carried prosperity to every part of the globe. But the system has not benefited all peoples equally. Now the newer nations are calling for a larger share of power and participation in the international system. New economic realities are going to require us to alter old ways of thought. Rather than thinking of industrial versus non-industrial, or producer versus consumer nations, we have to see the economic interests and capabilities that bind all nations and to work to build a new era of global economic cooperation that can be fair to all peoples.

–And finally, we can see a trend in those problems which can affect the kind of planet our children will inherit–indeed whether our planet will be habitable or not. Population, air and water pollution, the ecological balance, the future of the oceans. The nature and extent of public concern on these issues will have an important impact on the quality of life in our time as well as into the next century.

All the trends I have reviewed involve problems which concern far more than governmental interests. Their solution cannot be handled by diplomats alone, for they contain major, long-term implications for all of us. Farmers and consumers, industrialists, workers, teachers, and citizens everywhere must participate in formulating our nation's approach to these questions.

The latest Harris poll, prepared for the Congressional Joint Economic Committee, reaffirms that we as a people are deeply concerned about the quality of life everywhere, and are ready–even impatient–to make sacrifices to insure a better world.

The poll found that 76 percent of those interviewed were willing to go without meat once a week, and that 62 percent would give up fertilizing their lawns if it would help feed the world's hungry; that 90 percent would give up annual clothing style changes and 92 percent would cut back sharply on paper products and other disposables to save energy and curtail poliution. Humanitarian concerns are consistent with our democracy and with our religious backgrounds; environmental concerns are beginning to influence us all; the conservation of energy is becoming a habit.

It is decisions such as these which tell us that we do have a clear sense of purpose and priorities, and that makes it possible for us as a nation to develop cooperative approaches and collective solutions to take into account the long-range interests of all.

INVOLVING WOMEN

I have been describing the broad background of new trends in foreign policy in relation to the role of citizens. But there is another way in which citizens can participate by working in the field of foreign affairs. As the senior personnel officer in the Department of State, I am in a position to know that the role of women in the Department is disproportionately small. We are now engaged in a recruiting campaign to interest more women in jobs in the Department, both as new officers looking toward a full career, or as mid-career officers who already have expertise in a variety of fields such as economics, administration, or cultural or scientific affairs.

The examination process for entering the Department is rigorous. At the present time women are not faring as well in our written examination as the men. The reasons seem clear. Our examination is job-related; that is, it contains large blocs of material in economics and political science, fields essential for work in the foreign affairs field. But these are fields in which women have not trained themselves in proportion to their numbers in the university population at large.

Moreover, the women taking the examination are on the average about a year-and-a-half younger than the male contenders. This means that they have had less education or work experience than the men taking the examination. Nevertheless we hope that by strengthening our recruitment efforts we will be able to increase representation of women significantly.

We are also trying to make the Service more attractive to female recruits, and to retain good women, by making it feasible to work after marriage. We now have in the Service about 100 working couples with both spouses employed in the Foreign Service.

For women who marry officers in the Service and are not themselves employed, the Department has also changed the rules recently. The help they give their husbands in representing the U.S. abroad is on an explicitly voluntary basis. They are free to pursue their own interests, subject, of course, to the restrictions of the country itself.

We have also recently undertaken a major study of our secretarial corps in an effort to increase the professional level of their work, and to insure that their talents are fully utilized.

Further, we are trying to increase the representation of women on our delegations to international organizations and conferences. However, the pool of professional women in other federal agencies, from which many delegates are drawn, is equally inadequate.

Recently, I was at Mount Holyoke College for Founders Day. The speaker recalled that President Mary Wooley had been so preeminent in the advocacy of disarmament that she was included as the only woman delegate the the World Disarmament Conference in Geneva in 1932.

This caused me to reflect on the role of women in international conferences since World War II. Certainly the numbers have grown, particularly from the other countries. But, curiously enough, it seems to me since those days of Mrs. Roosevelt and many of the names which you recognize, there has been, with the declining national concern and consensus about international issues, a decline in the participation of women in international conferences, at least until Mexico City.

As I search for reasons, I wonder if it might be that advancing world peace and prosperity, causes long espoused and supported by women, today requires thorough comprehension of modern technology, arms control, international finance, trade, pollution, population, energy. These are the substance of international disputes and negotiations today. Their solution requires more than sheer humanitarianism and sense of service.

What is needed is highly trained, professional talent to serve our interests and to achieve the goals worthy of a great nation.

Finally, in the broader area of women's participation in society at large, the Department has played a major role in developing the International Women's Year. In fact the Department initiated the resolution which established the IWY. Some believe the World Plan of Action produced at the IWY Conference in Mexico City, will be as important to women as major civil rights legislation in this country has been to blacks. The Plan of Action is an index to the work which needs to be done to achieve full participation for women in our society and that of the world. It would be greatly strengthened by the formation of local and regional volunteer groups.

Whatever position we as citizens take on the great world events of our time, one fact is undeniable—our lives and our futures are touched by them. To be true to our nation's heritage, Americans have no alternative but to endeavor to understand the challenges we face, define the goals we seek, and set about the task of achieving them.

Today and in the future the work of women will be central to this effort—in our traditionally influential role as shapers of opinion, and in our ever-wider direct participation in foreign affairs.

Let us not forget that some 150 years ago that most perceptive foreign observer of American society, Alexis de Tocqueville, said:

> If I were asked to what the singular prosperity and growing strength of the American people ought mainly to be attributed, I should reply: To the superiority of their women.

I trust the same will also be said of our contribution to America's Third Century.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT THROUGH THE EYES OF THE MEDIA

In recent years the media have significantly improved their coverage of the women's movement and, to a lesser degree, their coverage of women.

However, coverage of women and the women's movement still tends to be inaccurate, misleading, and incomplete. "With few exceptions, the media trivializes, sensationalizes, ridicules, distorts, and still manages to ignore the women's movement," said *Susan Caudill*, a reporter for KERA-TV in Dallas.

These views were shared by most of the panelists who discussed the treatment of women by the media. The panel was moderated by *Judith Moyers* and *Bill Moyers*.

Leonore Hershey, editor-in-chief of *Ladies' Home Journal*, said the media representatives on the panel were "mostly self-critical, but also faintly objective. . .rather negative, but not totally negative" about the coverage of women.

Ms. Moyers, who referred to herself as a "radical homemaker," said:

> It has been taken for granted that men's activities should vary according to their potentialities, but it has been assumed that women's activities should be defined by their sex. If feminism is, as one historian has said, "the most radical social phenomenon in all history," it is clear that the average citizen will not learn of its significance from the media.

Mr. Moyers, editor-in-chief of *Bill Moyers' Journal* on the Public Broadcasting System, former newspaper publisher and White House aide, said:

> For all the talk about equal rights, we still have a society and therefore a journalism, shorn of discernment, shorn of the ability to recognize that women too, like everyone who has had to fight their way from a subservient role, are human beings who think, act, dream, aspire, as men do, to the powerful and irresistible idea of self-propriety.

Mr. Moyers compared the situation to a Monet painting of a woman which he had recently seen. The painting was the figure of a woman from her ankles to her shoulders. There was no head. He commented that for all the attention paid to the aspirations of women by the media in recent years, overall the decision-makers of press and television still do not see that women have a head and possess the faculty to think and a mind to will.

Mr. Moyers said that although a struggle for power is a part of the women's movement, its real heart "is the power of ideas." However, journalism and broadcasting cannot handle ideas well "in a format designed to sell products."

Part of the problem is "thoughtless habit forged by a long chain of insensitive unawareness," Mr. Moyers said, "but partly it goes to the nature of a medium whose chief aim is to maximize profits and not to humanize society."

Mr. Moyers commented:

> What sells products is an environment of conflict, not comprehension; confrontation, not clarity; and characters, instead of character. Thus the debate over the Equal Rights Amendment was not a debate at all, as far as the press was concerned. The debate has to do with comprehension, clarity, and the character of thought. It was presented, in the most typical of male fashions, as a contest—a contest conditioned by a million years of "male, and hunter," "gladiators in the stadium," "warriors on the field," "antagonists and protagonists dueling for victory". . .

In the eyes of the media, Mr. Moyers said, the struggle over ERA was fought between "aggressors, not advocates," so it was a contest of brawn, not brain, and the spoils went to the shouters.

"The country still does not know what the ERA was all about," Mr. Moyers said. "We know there was a fight. We don't know what it was for."

Susan Tolchin, co-author of the book, *Clout*, and director of the Washington Institute for Women in Politics, said women have been locked out of the journalism establishment "much the same way that they have been blocked in the political world."

When women enter the political world they are treated in the media with great ridicule, Ms. Tolchin said, although there are signs of change.

Women have become aware of the major stumbling

blocks, Ms. Tolchin said, and are "attacking them constructively."

She said:

> We have seen a terrific politicization of women, as a result of the fight for equal rights, as a result of the tremendous contribution of the women's liberation movement, and, I think, as a result of the increased delegate strength at the two previous national political conventions.

Ms. Tolchin said the media are not monolithic—"I think the media are educable."

She said the media are becoming bored by the stereotype of women "so I think we all ought to take advantage of this." She noted that it was *Esquire*, formerly a "man's magazine," that excerpted *Clout*.

Ms. Tolchin affirmed her strong belief that the increased participation of women in public life and in meaningful roles "will be the only thing that will ultimately change women's conditions and life in general."

CHANGING THE IMAGE

The editor of *Redbook* magazine, *Sey Chassler*, said "I wish I could say that things have changed—that the women's movement and our raised consciousness have had an impact on the media—but I cannot."

Mr. Chassler said that despite the great increase in the number of events involving women, laws favoring women, and more space and time in the media being devoted to women, "we remain *status quo*." He quoted George Bernard Shaw who said:

> "If we have come to think that the nursery and the kitchen are the natural sphere of women, we have done so exactly as English children come to think that a cage is the natural sphere of a parrot—because they have never seen one anywhere else."

Noting that the media are primarily concerned with image, he said, "That's why we have to concern ourselves with countering the erroneous image with a correct image."

"There isn't any reason in the world why the President of the United States has to look like Teddy Roosevelt," Chassler said. "The President can look like Sissy Farenthold, or Barbara Jordan or Anne Armstrong."

Referring to the image of Zeus, Chassler said:

> You've got to get rid of that image of the dominant male riding down out of the skies and able to do whatever he pleases. That's a key consideration, the kind of consideration that editors, television producers, and others have got to get out of their heads. It's this matter of image that suggested to us the story that Liz Carpenter wrote for *Redbook* on the six women who could be President. We think that any of those women, or any number of other women can be President. But what's much more important is to get into the heads of people everywhere that a woman can be President. . .

COVERING MEXICO CITY

Peggy Simpson, who covers the United States House of Representatives for the Associated Press and is president of the Washington Press Club, recalled her experience in reporting on the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City.

Upon arriving in Mexico City she discovered that several of the AP's male reporters had been interviewing people as they arrived at the airport. "They had, among others, conveniently interviewed Mrs. Sadat and Mrs. Marcos about their views on women and these turned out to be genuine put-downs of the women's movement."

After writing a lengthy story on the opening of the Conference, focusing on the serious issues to be discussed, she discovered that her story had not been used and another story, under her byline, had been substituted. The story, which was being distributed by AP had been picked up from one of the Mexico City papers and was "a very frilly, awful story about the Soviet cosmonaut in her green dress and how she was idolized in Mexico where all men love women anyway. . ." There was only one line mentioning the opening of the Conference.

After calling New York to tell her superiors that she had no intention of remaining for the Conference if that was the approach to be used, she was reassured that AP did want serious stories on the meeting.

The fact that the news service wanted serious stories, did not mean that she should not write about other subjects as well, including the confrontations that took place.

> In terms of the confrontations between U.S. feminists alone, I think this was healthy in a sense. . .It certainly was exaggerated in the ways it was reported, but I think it was healthy, because if you ever had any doubts that this would be a movement that could be led by one person, you know that it just isn't so.

She pointed out some of the difficulties involved in trying to cover the substantive issues being considered by women at the Conference. On one occasion she was asked to interrupt work on a complicated article on

role-sharing in Communist countries to go interview movie actor Burt Reynolds. She was supposed to ask Reynolds, who was making a film in Mexico, what he thought of women's liberation.

Ms. Simpson said that despite the well-publicized confrontations there was considerable cooperation between women who had vastly different political and economic views.

She said the emphasis on confrontation "was largely because of ignorance about the real issues that are barriers to women."

Ms. Simpson expressed the hope that there could be another United Nations Women's Conference in five years to assess progress. At that meeting, she hoped "that all of us will be more informed and that there won't be as much emphasis on confrontation because we will be able to get around the personality fights and write about the issues."

THE WASHINGTON WOMEN

A less pessimistic view came from *Isabelle Shelton*, long-time *Washington Star* reporter. "I'm not quite as pessimistic as some people about either the press or the women's movement, because I have seen such enormous changes in the 25 years I have been covering women for the *Star*," she said.

Ms. Shelton reviewed some of the changes she had seen in Washington and gave her impressions of several first ladies whom she had covered.

> There was no women's movement when I went to work for the *Star* in 1951. There had been kind of a one-woman women's movement in the thirties and forties. It's name was Eleanor Roosevelt. At a time when "ladies" still wore hats and white gloves and, like children, were supposed to be seen, but not heard, this first lady broke all the rules. She burrowed into coal mines, popped into the tents of startled GI's on the far-flung battlefields of World War II.

Eleanor Roosevelt "was the butt of vicious editorials and 10,000 cruel cartoons," Ms. Shelton said, "but she hung in there, and she changed things."

> Liz Carpenter and I know what she did for our own profession. She held weekly press conferences at the White House and they were so newsworthy, the editors did not dare leave them unstaffed. But she would let in only women reporters. Many women reporters still on the scene when I got to Washington told me that is how they had first gotten their foot in the door.

Ms. Shelton said the situation "had retrogressed" by the time she arrived in Washington in 1950.

> Society pages, and that is all there was then for women. . .except for food and fashion, were preoccupied with whether women guests at White House dinners and receptions should take off or leave on their long white gloves when they shook hands with the President and the first lady. Earnest, ponderous arguments were expressed on both sides.

At the time the question of calling cards was a major preoccupation for new Congressional wives. The Green Book, which is Washington's social bible, devoted several pages to the proper procedures.

Bess Truman was the first lady during this period. "She was a lovely lady, and, as we belatedly know, quite feisty," Ms. Shelton said. But the public perception of her was of someone "who worked constantly at cleaning up her husband's earthy language."

Ms. Shelton noted that Mrs. Truman also "had the independence to turn her back on snobbish Washington" and continue to play bridge with her Independence, Missouri bridge club.

She was followed by Mamie Eisenhower "also a lovely lady, who never expressed a political view in eight years." M. Shelton said, "The rare times that the press got to talk to her at all, she made appropriate gurgling noises about her grandchildren."

Jackie Kennedy brought a new day to Washington, Ms. Shelton said, "although she is hardly the figure of a liberated women."

Ms. Shelton said that she regretted that instead of renovating the White House, Mrs. Kennedy "didn't take on child care centers, abortion reform, or something more substantive, because she would have made it move."

Then came the Johnson Administration and Ms. Shelton said:

> Lady Bird Johnson, Liz Carpenter, and Simone Poulain were a fearsomely efficient trio, all in the White House at the same time. Jackie had beautified the White House and Lady Bird took on the country. If Lyndon Johnson had served another term, I'm sure she would have beautified the world. . .She was really the early conscience of the new wave of conservation in this country.

Ms. Shelton noted that when wives of presidential candidates are interviewed they were traditionally coy and reserved and would say that the only important thing would be for her husband to be elected. But, she said, "Muriel Humphrey broke the mold," speaking out on controversial subjects and advocating programs for children. Likewise, Ms. Shelton said, Betty Ford has not hesitated to speak out.

Ms. Shelton said that the launching of the National

Women's Political Caucus in 1972 brought serious news coverage in major papers and described this as a watershed in press treatment of the women's movement. "I think a lot of editors began, for the first time, paying rather serious attention to women's issues."

THE WOMEN'S PAGES

Although there are examples of serious reporting in the women's pages, and there are occasional television documentaries that seriously treat women's issues, these are exception, according to *Molly Ivins*, co-editor of *The Texas Observer*.

> It is nice to have *Ms.* magazine come out once a month. But I think the daily drip, drip, drip–sort of like Chinese water torture–of the women's sections is still where many of us get much of our self image.

Ms. Ivins said that she had been impressed with the calibre of journalism in some women's sections, particularly winners of the Penny-University of Missouri awards, which she described as "the Pulitizer Prizes of the women's pages."

> There is investigative reporting about quacks performing abortions, about who is selling drugs to kids in school, about housing situations, about education, about the special problems of Indian women and black women. There is reporting that would make Woodward and Bernstein stand up and salute. . .

But, said Ms. Ivins, such stories are unique and exceptional and she mentioned examples of the "drip, drip, drip" of familiar household hints and fashion advice. She cited a cliché-laden society column in the *Dallas Morning News* reporting on "the annual military ball." The story was filled with frivolity and contained lengthy descriptions of what those in attendance wore and news from "the rumor mills of Dallas and Washington." Ms. Ivins said such coverage is "still about 80 percent of what we find in the women's sections in this country, despite the fact that they are no longer called women's sections or even 'society.' We now have 'Trend,' 'Flair,' 'Style,' 'Flash,' and 'Family.' "

TELEVISION AND WOMEN

Susan Caudill of KERA-TV in Dallas said that the media's overall coverage of women and the women's movement "is a professional disgrace." She said that despite significant improvements, the media, especially television, "remain essentially a menace to women."

Ms. Caudill said that in its coverage of the women's movement the media are guilty of both factual inaccuracies and a blindness to the pervasiveness and the essential grassroots nature of the movement. She also referred to the "creation of media stars by the media."

"Ignorance and bias–mostly ignorance–are still the hallmark of media coverage of the movement," Ms. Caudill said.

Sexual stereotyping continues in television programming and within the industry "discrimination in hiring, promotion, and assignments continues," she said. Although there are now more women on camera, they are "mostly at the crack of dawn and at noon."

Ms. Caudill said too many of the female reporters "are behaving and reporting no differently than their male predecessors." She added: "Think for a moment of the number of middle-aged women reporting the news, compared to middle-aged men."

There are no real havens without sexism in the communications industry, she said. Public television has much to be proud of in its programming on women's issues but there are indications that "in-house discrimination and sex-role stereotyping are still thriving in public television."

One of the most damaging results of the media's performance is failure to report on what Ms. Caudill called "hometown feminism," which she views as "the heart and the strength of the movement." She cited such examples as Wichita Falls, Texas, "where women's political caucus positions are blacked out by all the local media," and in Amarillo "where the media have neglected to tell the public about a rape crisis center."

THE CAMPUS PRESS

The American campus press is no worse and perhaps somewhat better in its coverage and concept of women and the women's movement, according to *Scott Tagliarino*, editor *The Daily Texan* at The University of Texas at Austin.

The image of women in the student press began as "those giddy, high-spirited girls in the sororities," Tagliarino noted, and "the women's story of the year usually concerned itself with who would be the next university sweetheart."

But, he said, as the right of women to pursue their ambitions alongside their male classmates became more accepted, "the campus newspaper reflected this trend by reassessing its coverage."

Tagliarino said that a survey of campus newspapers around the country noted many student papers devoting considerable space to women's issues and activities, although he said there are still some campuses where the sweetheart and beauty queen competitions are dominant stories.

> The university sweethearts competition, I am glad to say, has generally dropped in its importance as a women's activity and is replaced with the news of women's political activities, the reoccuring sex discrimination on campus, and the improving image of women as competitors, both in athletic and scholastic activities.

Still, there are problems. Coverage of women's events and activities was difficult for male-dominated staffs, but more and more women have been working on campus newspapers.

If there is a common problem with women's coverage in the campus press, it is the lack of in-depth reporting, Tagliarino said. Student journalism lacks coverage of the whys and wherefores of job discrimination and salary inconsistencies between male and female faculty members and the consistent editorial content on the daily problems of women on and off campus.

He said the campus media "can and should be a prevailing force in making women's rights a legitimate area of concern for the national media, something definitely lacking in the past."

SENSITIVITY AND PERCEPTION

Responding to the panel, *Jill Ruckelshaus*, presiding officer of the U.S. Commission on International Women's Year, said the insensitivity and lack of perception in coverage of women's movement issues could be overcome "if we had more women who were helping bring us the news."

Ms. Ruckelshaus cited a recent survey of newspaper reporting which showed a vast predominance of stories, particularly hard-news items, being written by men. She also said that 82 percent of television programming and management was being done by men.

She also called for newspapers to do investigative reporting on sex discrimination. "I think an investigative journalist could easily pick up enough information to change practices much more quickly than the cumbersome legal procedures. . .if they would monitor it day-by-day."

Ms. Ruckelshaus also encouraged writing letters to station managers and newspaper editors about offensive material and the "stereotyped roles" of males and females as presented in the media.

Mary Virginia Busby of the U.S. Center for International Women's Year said "it is only fair and proper" to acknowledge that except for the press, "the gains achieved by and for women in the United States might never have been realized."

Ms. Busby commented on the importance of the media in view of her experience at the Mexico City Conference:

> The media coverage of that first meeting of the women of the world may have been and, in my personal judgment, certainly was, often unfair, often distorted, often frivolous, often presenting women in caricature, and most certainly incomplete. At the same time, though, an American woman talking with and listening to women of other lands, could hardly fail to be aware of one reality. Where there is no significant media, where there is no real media forum for discussion of women's roles or aspirations, where there is no press or television to give recognition to women's achievements. . .there is very little, if any, status of women.

Recalling her efforts to get coverage for the National Women's Political Caucus, for which she served as press coordinator, *Deborah Leff* said, "Only when the Women's Caucus began to get power and began to be successful did the male reporters become terribly interested in covering us, because then it meant that they would get air time."

Ms. Leff said, "The media is not ready to let the movement evolve, to let us change, to let us grow, to let us develop."

Cathy Bonner, who is in public relations and is chairperson of the Austin Commission on the Status of Women, said there is a tendency for the media to treat the women's movement as an "event" rather than as a lifestyle.

> We have left the streets. We have gone into the homes. We have gone into the courts. We have gone into the legislatures. We are far more experienced. . .It is more than just events. We are a lifestyle and we create a different kind of story and that story demands attention.

Ms. Bonner noted that the U.S. National Women's Agenda had received little press coverage, a legislative program endorsed by nearly 100 women's organizations, representing more than 30 million women. "Yet, how much coverage have you seen on the U.S. National Women's Agenda?"

She said not only are the media guilty of not changing with the movement, but "we are guilty of something as well—of not learning the skills that you have to know to get coverage." She said it was important for women to learn how to write press releases, schedule press conferences, and develop press contacts, and that there are women within the media who are willing to help.

Patricia Lindh, an assistant to President Gerald Ford, commented on the "sexual stereotyping" in advertising, which she said had an important influence on the attitudes of the younger generation, and that these attitudes are likely to carry over as that generation grows

older.

She also deplored the tendency to confine women's news to the women's section of newspapers, no matter how important.

> I think ERA is news. I think it is front page news, or at least fourth page news, or even maybe page 14, but it belongs in the news section. I think IWY and the events in Mexico City were hard news. In many papers around the country the events in Mexico City wound up after the recipes and who was getting married next Saturday. It should have been in the front of the paper.
>
> I think the credit regulations that were approved this year, giving women for the first time an equal chance at any kind of credit rating, is hard news. In most cases that also wound up after the recipes.

Judith Moyers ended the panel by relating a series of correspondence between a representative of the Manhattan Women's Political Caucus and officials of *The New York Times*. She said the exchange "in some ways sums up the problem that women must confront and deal with concerning the media."

The first letter was addressed to Mr. Arthur O. Sulzberger, publisher, and Mr. A. M. Rosenthal, managing editor of The New York Times.

> Gentlemen:
>
> As Coordinator of the Press Committee of the Manhattan Women's Political Caucus, I have been requested to communicate to you the following Resolution passed unanimously at the last membership meeting, February 27, 1974, by a special vote:
>
> Given the current widespread acceptance of the term "Ms." in business usage and its official sanction in U. S. Governmental and Congressional style manuals, the Manhattan Women's Political Caucus demands that *The New York Times* editors and reporters use the term "Ms." in print when requested to do so by women being interviewed or quoted. We note that among media, the *Times* is nearly alone in refusing to do so.
>
> Sincerely yours,
> Barbara F. Martinez

Second Letter

Dear Miss Martinez:

One of the problems with this country, I believe, is that too many people are demanding too many things. So, let me start right out by saying that the *New York Times* has no intention at this time of changing its style from "Miss" or "Mrs." to "Ms." "Mr.", "Mrs." and "Miss," old-fashioned, if you will, are, in our judgment terms of respect that civilized people across the world understand. We feel no need to scrap them in favor of "Ms." I know you think we are wrong, but we will continue to plod along, reporting on the movement to use "Ms.", but sticking with the traditional forms of address until, in our judgment, time and custom warrant a change.

Sincerely,
Arthur O. Sulzberger

Third Letter

Dear Mr. Sulzberger:

I have kept the attached letter lo these many months in wonderment, both at your haughty response and *The New York Times* fanatical resistance to a change in language, based on real social changes. Secretly, I sincerely felt that as the U. S. Government, the New York State Government, nearly all business offices, and nearly all the major newspapers and magazines adopted "Ms." as an approved and preferred salutation and title, surely, *The New York Times* would catch up.

Your response, in fact, points up one of the reasons why business people and journalists have so readily adopted "Ms." as a counterpart to "Mr." You have incorrectly addressed your letter to "Miss Barbara F. Martinez," when I am, in fact, married. I used "Ms." in my letter to you. I happen to use both my maiden and married names, together, or separately, as is my privilege, since I have been known professionally, as Barbara Faulk, for years. It is truly none of anyone's concern whether I am married or not in dealing with me on a business level. It is quite civilized and correct to acknowledge that fact by addressing me as "Ms." as my business colleagues invariably do.

As for demanding things, I genuinely believe that without many, many people making demands all throughout U. S. history, we would not ever have become a nation. We would not have survived as a nation. We would have had little hope of surviving the tragic wrongdoing and wrongheadedness of Watergate and Vietnam.

We all deserve to be heard by those in power. When they repeatedly turn a deaf ear, we stop asking and start demanding. If you believe there are too many people demanding too many things today, consider that there may be too many deaf ears among those who control government, business and the fifth estate.

Very sincerely,
Barbara Faulk Martinez

Fourth Letter

Dear Mrs. Martinez:

First of all, I apologize for addressing you incorrectly in my previous letter to you. When I went to school, I was taught that if one does not know the marital status of a woman, "Miss" is the correct way of addressing her. There is a major movement on for the use of "Ms." Indeed, my daughters have joined the cause. *The New York Times*, however, is still sticking with either "Miss" or "Mrs."

We may be old-fashioned or thick, but that has been the decision of our editors, a point in which I concur. I regret that you disagree with this particular decision, but that's the way it is. I'm sorry you felt my earlier response to you was haughty. This was not intended.

Sincerely,
Arthur O. Sulzberger

Fifth Letter

Dear Mr. Sulzberger:

Thank you for your letter of July 8, 1975. When I went to school, they taught me first to refer to colored people, and then to Negros. Finally I asked my black friends what they preferred.

Sincerely,
Barbara Faulk Martinez

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WOMEN IN POWER

Led off by State Representative *Sarah Weddington* of Austin, nearly 20 Texans explored the gains and the gaps of women in the power structure of Texas in testimony before the U.S. Committee on Women in Power. The presidentially appointed Committee, chaired by Hanna Gray, provost of Yale University, held its first open session in conjunction with the Women in Public Life Conference.

Anne Armstrong, a member of the IWY Commission as well as the Committee on Women in Power, introduced the session, noting that "every woman in this hall who did not realize that she is already in public life will realize it when she leaves:

Ms. Armstrong said:

> After years of quiescence, after years of waiting in the wings, of giving the cues, of working the spotlight, we are now center stage in the spotlight. We are often puzzling, even frightening as individuals, and therefore we are newsworthy.
>
> Our issues are progressive and provocative, therefore newsworthy and public. Our cause is burgeoning and growing in clout, therefore newsworthy and in public life. You owe it to the movement not to shun that spotlight, not to shun that mike or that printed page, but to use it as a benchmark in the feminist movement. Maybe to run for office, maybe to manage a campaign, maybe to press for an appointive position, maybe to get on a TV show or on an op ed page, maybe to ask the leading question here, or make a good suggestion which will end up in our recommendations to the President and through him to Congress, to the agencies, to governors, and private sector, as well. But in whatever way, to each her own, go public.

The U.S. Committee on Women in Power, appointed in conjunction with the observance of International Women's Year, chose to focus on women and the political process. As Chairperson *Hanna Gray* noted, the Committee asked questions about women as office holders, as appointees, and as participants in a variety of organizations related to the political process. She commented that the testimony at this Conference would allow the Committee "to learn what is possible in the positive sense. Possible through seeing what people have in fact done and how what they have done can open the doors to other doers, as well."

Frances T. Farenthold, former President of the National Women's Political Caucus and former candidate for Governor of Texas, opened the testimony with a presentation entitled *Timidity, The Basic Problem Here and Abroad.*

> Timidity is what we are plagued with. And I am not speaking of the fearful, the threatened, the passive, all of our sisters who lack a sense of self-identity and self-worth. Nor am I speaking of those who are burdened by so much that takes place in their daily life that it absorbs all their left effort to simply survive. I am speaking of you and me and all of those that are participants in public life. And what is timidity? It is a shirking from dangerous or difficult circumstances, and it is an accumulation of all our trappings.
>
> I would like to focus briefly on our heritage, something that we know so little about. Our foremothers did not even have a legal footing. They had no legal footing when they started their efforts in the 19th Century.
>
> Victoria Woodhull: scorned and mocked. We do not often speak of her because she falls short of our timid standards of orthodoxy, and I guess you might say purity. But in 1870 she announced for the presidency, and let me quote what she said:
>
> > While others argued the equality of women with men, I proved it successfully engaging in business. While others sought to show that there was no valid reason why women should be treated socially and politically as being inferior to men, I boldly entered the arena. I now announce myself as a candidate for the presidency. I anticipate criticism. But however unfavorable the comment this letter may evoke, I trust that my sincerity will not be called into question.
> >
> > I have deliberately and of my own accord placed myself before the people as a candidate for the presidency of the United States. And having the means, courage, energy and strength necessary for the race, intend to contest it to the close.

And the reaction? Initially, bemused interest from the press. As it became apparent that Mrs. Woodhull was pressing her case, the reaction

changed, The *New York Herald Tribune*, for example, made this comment:

> The public mind is not yet educated to the pitch of universal women's rights. At present, man in his affection for and kindness toward the weaker sex is disposed to accord her any reasonable number of privileges. Beyond that stage he pauses because there seems to him to be something which is unnatural in permitting her to share the turmoils, the excitement, the risks of competition for the glory of governing.

Timidity? There was little room for that sort of indulgence in the movement in the 19th Century. Certainly not in Victoria Woodhull's 1872 race. Certainly not in the 1876 Declaration of the Rights of the Women of the United States and the Articles of Impeachment against the government that the suffragettes delivered on July 4, 1876.

And how are we to compare our predicament with theirs? Not very favorably, I am afraid. In that time, timidity was overcome by indignation and outrage and organization. And that example should serve us well.

Our timidity has tolerated our working with only what is handed us, with gratefully accepting our unfair share, our serving as willing underpinnings for a power structure of male politicians who compromise their commitments to the disadvantaged at the first sign of opposition or pressure.

Perhaps, just perhaps, some of that timidity has been thrown off by the exposure we have had to the political process. Surely to observe most office holders at close range is to lose one's trepidation about opposing them, whatever their office.

Surely we have seen enough, experienced enough, not to have the timorous stars in our eyes over political parties or candidates. Surely we will no longer tolerate being told that we do not understand the nuances of representative government. We understand them all too well.

And so we must unburden ourselves of our timorous traditions. That timidity that has restricted our actions and shrouded our aspirations, those timid ways must be replaced by a million acts of courage.

THE JUDICIAL PICTURE

For Federal Judge *Sarah T. Hughes* of Dallas, the message was clear. Her comments were based on a simple directive: "Don't wait to be asked."

> Don't wait to be asked—has been my motto all my life.
>
> My mother told me that I could do what I wanted to do, and I thought I could. I voted in the first election after women had the right to vote, in 1920. I knew at that time that I was going to run for public office. I did not know what it was, but I knew I would.
>
> I came to Texas in 1922 and immediately started working for candidates whom I wanted to have elected. As soon as I had been here long enough to be considered a "Southerner"—I had come from the State of Maryland—I ran for the legislature in 1930. Of course I knew there were people who did not want a woman elected to any office. In addition to that, it was in the depths of the Depression, and people said, "She has a husband to support her." And that was a big, big argument then.
>
> Of course I knew there were people who would not vote for me, but there are people who do not like red ties. And candidates do not get those that do not like red ties if they wear one. But I talked to the people who would vote for women. I did not spend any time on the others. And so I was elected to the legislature. Fortunate? Yes. I had four opponents. Fortunately, the man that I was in the runoff with in 1930 wanted gambling, liquor, and horse racing. I assure you that I did not have to say anything about any of them. He killed himself in good old Baptist Dallas County.
>
> And then I served three terms in the legislature and a vacancy was created in the Fourteenth District Court. Governor Allred told me that he was going to appoint me. "But," he said, "your senator doesn't want you." In fact he came out that same day and said I ought to be home washing dishes. The governor said, "Do you want me to send your name to the Senate?" Nobody, man or woman, had ever been approved with their own senator against them. I said "Yes, send it to the Senate."
>
> Well, that was the first time that all the women in Texas were banded together. They might be in the kitchen, but they did not want to say that every woman had to be in the kitchen. And they wrote to their senators. And I went back to Dallas and had my picture taken washing dishes and it was in the paper. And I called the senators that weekend from Dallas, and when the name came to the Senate, it was approved, 31 to 23.
>
> I became Judge of the Fourteenth District Court and stayed there for an almost endless number of years, 25. I did not want to stay forever in the Fourteenth District Court. I decided I wanted to be a Federal District Judge.
>
> At that time I was 64 years old. The American Bar Association voted "Unqualified on account of age." But that did not make any difference. I knew that the President was not going to count on the American Bar Association. He was more interested at that time in the Speaker of the House, Sam Rayburn, the Vice President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, and the Senator from Texas, Ralph Yarborough. And I knew all three of those men. I had worked for all three of

them. I had campaigned with Sam Rayburn when Al Smith was running for President in 1928, and had campaigned with him every four years since that time. I had known Senator Yarborough when he was a member of the attorney general's office, and I was in the legislature.

I knew Vice-President Johnson because I had campaigned for him when he ran for the Senate, and you all remember that race. It was hotly contested. And I had campaigned for him and for President Kennedy when they ran for President and Vice-President. So I knew the right people and it did not make any difference about the American Bar Association.

And I asked those people, all three of them, and they all three said they would help me. And so when it came time for vacancy, they went to President Kennedy. But still, with the Attorney General, the American Bar Association was making some noise, and so he was a little doubtful. But he went to see Speaker Rayburn about getting some bills passed for the Department of Justice. And Speaker Rayburn said, "Yes, I can get those bills passed if you will see that Sarah Hughes is appointed." Well, you know what happened.

Again, the women of the United States came to my help. I called the President of the Business and Professional Women. She wrote to every club, I think, in the United States, and letters poured in to the Attorney General and to the President to appoint Sarah Hughes. You know what the result was; I was appointed.

So the first thing you have to do is to believe in yourself. I never was like the graduating senior at one of our universities who was asked what she wanted to do, and she said, "I want to be the assistant to some great man that I really believe in." Do not ever say you want to be the assistant to anybody. You want to be the person. And then I say that you have to get into the arena and fight. You cannot hold your light under a bushel basket. I like to think that we can all get there if we are aggressive enough. After believing in yourself you have to be aggressive. Do not wait for President Kennedy or anybody else to look around the United States and find the best person available. They won't find you. They are looking for their supporters. What do they think? What do they want? And that is the way you will get appointed or elected. And do not tell me that any one of the people here did not have some backing of some kind that got them where they wanted.

And now one last story and then I am through. And that is about the old man who was going down the river on a raft with his little grandson. His little grandson, as usual, was dragging his feet in the water. And he finally looked over to him and he said, "Is you freight or is you power?" I do not want any of the women in this room to be freight. I want them to be power. Get behind women. Announce for office yourself. Do not wait to be asked to run. Do it yourself.

County Judge *Mary Pearl Williams* of Travis County offered testimony to the Committee and to the audience about the problems faced by a woman who must deal with the "old boy network."

> A "good old boy" is one who gets along with his fellows. He may or may not be competent. He shares his leisure hours with the boys, and they can thereby tell that he is human, down to earth, a regular guy, likeable. They can kid and josh with him in frequent outings and casual opportunities to be together.
>
> A woman in a man's world finds it difficult, if not impossible, to socialize in this way. She has far fewer opportunities to show she is likeable or to smooth any hurt feelings. Men get along and fraternize with each other much more easily than we women do, whatever the reason for this may be. We have heard it said that we women are hard on each other, and I am sorry but I feel that is still true to a significant extent. We are getting along much better these days developing a simple comradeship between us, though for a long time while we may have had one or two close friends, many women lacked a sustained spirit of mutuality. Perhaps it was because we were not used to teaming up with each other on major enterprises that demanded working closely together several hours of the day over long periods of time. We were not out in the world willing to do favors for each other just because we understood each other's needs and problems.

Recounting her own experiences as a female judge in a male world, Judge Williams warned the group that "there is no one anecdote for beating the 'old boy game.'" While more women in the field will help, Judge Williams noted that "the biggest threat posed by the 'old boy game' is how it tolerates and indeed breeds mediocrity and incompetence." But, she concluded, "We will beat it. We have to beat it. Yes, by power politics, but also by insisting on being evaluated on the basis of merit and ability and by our own hard work and creative achievement."

LOBBYISTS

Two Texas women lobbyists—*Rosa Walker*, lobbyist for the Texas AFL-CIO and *Barbara Vackar*, coordinator for Texans for ERA—recounted their experiences as lobbyists in the Texas legislature.

Rosa Walker noted that things have changed for women in the Texas Capitol:

> Ten years ago when I first came to Austin as a full-time lobbyist for the Texas AFL-CIO, there was only one place for women in the Texas State Capitol, and that was behind the typewriter. I remember going to a legislator to talk to him about a bill, and his asking me first, "Whose

secretary are you?" I told him I was not a secretary. He then said, "You must be with Mrs. Tobaloski talking about the ERA bill." I said, "Yes, I'm very interested in the ERA bill, but that's not the reason I'm here." Finally he said, "Then it must be the Cosmetology bill. I'm with you on that one."

But once there, Walker warned, you have got to know what you are doing.

> To effectively lobby for legislation you must be willing to spend the time learning the mechanics of passing a bill. To effectively represent our viewpoints to legislators, we must do more than demonstrate on the Capitol steps, although there are times when that is important. To most lobbyists, there is a serious business. They are paid to represent their client's viewpoint. They do not fool around when it comes to that business. For us to be successful we must become more professional in our approach to lobbying.

Barbara Vackar, lobbyist for a coalition of groups supporting the ERA, emphasized the importance of organizational ties. She urged the women in the audience to "seek out an organization and join it. Because it is through these organizations that you find out what's going on, how you can best act, therefore how you can be the most effective."

THE ELECTIVE SITUATION

The elective situation—the process of running, campaigning, operating in office—was discussed by an array of Texas women with extensive electoral experience. Mayor *Lila Cockrell* of San Antonio told the group that "there is nothing that is more fun, more exciting, more stimulating than being a candidate for public office." She detailed her own experiences as a candidate and noted the importance of being a part of a ticket approach. But, Mayor Cockrell, noted, "there are many different ways, and mainly it's a result of knowing who is behind the power situation in your community, getting to be a part of it, getting to have the contacts with that group, and then hopefully getting on the ticket and having the opportunity to run."

For *Chris Miller*, State Representative from Fort Worth, candidacy grew out of her organizing activity with the Texas Women's Political Caucus. One of her colleagues with the Caucus told her, "Chris, why don't you put your body where your mouth is?" Chris Miller noted that "a little pressure was put on me and I gave in and I ran." Once in office, she found that it was difficult for the "big lobbyists" to deal with the women in the legislature. "What are they going to offer me? They don't know and I don't either," she commented.

Ann Richards, former campaign manager and current candidate for the Travis County Commission*, described the "bumpy campaign trail." She reminisced about the "stuffed doll" years of politics for women.

> For those individuals who had education and intellect that suggested that they had something to give to the science of politics, to the shaping of campaign platforms and to the direction of candidate focus, there seemed little hope. Those of us lucky enough to have politically oriented husbands who encouraged our participation continued to stay informed through the various vicarious morsels that filtered home. None of us could have predicted that we would and could save ourselves; that our fellow women would deliver us from the pep squad and make us the captains of the team.

Although some things have changed, Ann Richards warned the Committee and the women in the audience that women may still be losing out.

> Now, you all know the nitty-gritty campaign problems, the problems of raising money, of developing skills, the rhetoric. I would be remiss, however, if I testified to you only of my observations of the campaign trail. A major portion of you here are mothers and grandmothers, and one day some of you might be both. Though Sarah Weddington successfully carries a bill to stop credit discrimination, when our daughters come home from high school, tearfully reporting exclusion from the drill team because they are too large, too tall, or too busty, women are still losing. Though Martha Griffiths improves the inequities in Federal Social Security benefits, when our daughters are chastized in elementary school for being unladylike, for climbing trees, while our sons are playing baseball, women are still losing.
>
> Though Barbara Jordan's eloquence makes the constitution a live document, but with our Christmas lists of tea sets and ironing boards for girls and logo blocks and erector sets for boys, women are still losing.
>
> We open new vistas only to subtly seduce our children into the ruts that we left behind. And have our own cries deafened us to the whispers of our female children? Statutory victories pale in such psychological defeats. The campaign trail is indeed bumpy, and it will remain so for those who follow us until we not only fight for right in public, but then we take it home.

The pressures that stemmed from stereotyped expectations were also discussed by State Representative *Wilhelmina Delco* of Austin as she spoke to the topic, *Dealing in the Family*. According to Ms. Delco, women in politics must deal with personal pressures from husband, from peers, from parents, and from children. Each of these family members may be people who "look at the

*Ann Richards won the Democratic nomination for Travis County Commissioner in 1976.

traditional role of women and who decide for you, or try to decide for you, what your 'place' ought to be."

A woman who is thinking about running for political office, noted Ms. Delco, should consider the family in her decision-making process.

> But if she is going to make the decision, if she is going to deal with the pressure, one way that she has to do that, to me, is by establishing a program not just for herself but for those members of her family with whom she has to deal once the decision is made. Whether you are talking about boys and girls, or all boys or all girls, there has to be some change in the role. Mother cannot be expected to be all things to all people. It is important to you and important to the members of your family that they too establish a program of participation so that you can develop yourself in whatever political presence you feel you must have.
>
> We all feel that somehow if something goes wrong and we are not there at home, we are to blame. It is very important for women who make a decision to deal with political life to deal definitely with this sense of guilt, to deal with the question of priorities to determine what is the most important for me in terms of myself, in terms of my family, and in terms of my community.

For *Kay Bailey*, State Representative from Houston, what we are taught about legislative procedure in school, "has no resemblance to what it takes to pass a bill." Ms. Bailey described the twists and turns involved when the bill for rape victims was presented to the Texas legislature. Problems with subcommittee assignments, delay tactics, and burying legislation in committee were met by targeted lobbying and knowledge of detailed legislative procedure: the result was the passage of a bill.

The determination that was needed to get the bill out of the legislature was similar to the determination that State Representative *Eddie Bernice Johnson* of Dallas exerted to conduct a campaign from her living room and garage. Detailing the logistics and problems with a low-cost, face-to-face campaign, Ms. Johnson described the way she evolved from a political volunteer to a political candidate. Her first campaign depended upon one paid worker and her 14-year old son and all of her campaigning was done out of her home.

THE APPOINTMENT PICTURE

According to *Lorey Gallop*, from the Texas Women's Political Caucus, "women constituted only 9.1 percent of the total Texas state boards and commissions." One of the individuals who was responsible for a significant appointment of a woman was Judge *Joe Greenhill*, of the Texas Supreme Court. Judge Greenhill, who appointed *Selma Wells* to the State Board of Pardons and Paroles, noted that "I do not think I deserve any particular praise or commendation because I have done nothing other than what I should have done to appoint the best people to the right positions."

According to *Martha Cotera*, president of Mexican-American Business and Professional Women, the picture for Mexican-American women is not much different whether one looks at the elective or appointive levels.

> An analysis of cities, counties and school districts will show the same bleak picture for us. From our community's point of view, equalizing women's position has not meant increased opportunities for Chicanos.
>
> Our community is seeing a concentration and consolidation of power, income, and influence for the Anglo family and community. There has been very little change in all of this for minority communities. That is the way it is. The reaction I am feeling throughout the state is that power for Chicanos will depend on certain strategies, some from within, some from without. A restructuring of efforts among Chicanos and Chicanas from within our communities to strengthen opportunities for both Chicanas and Chicanos. Of course, the nice thing about this is to do this, Chicanos are having to change their attitudes. So there have been some really positive things happening, that they have had to change their attitudes in order to do this. Efforts from political and government administrators to establish affirmative action guidelines within programs and efforts earmarked for women to keep minority women from being swallowed up or forgotten. A great deal of understanding– this is number three–and sincerity from women in power to the needs of minority women, particularly in regards to strategies so that you will understand the whys and wherefores that Chicanas must enact for liberation, and why this has to be different. Sometimes we have to do things that where our sincerity as feminists might be questioned. You have to understand our context. I cannot say this enough.
>
> We have to act differently from Anglo women and even from Black strategies because we have a totally different family and cultural context.
>
> Number four, it is also going to take a great deal of militancy, I think, from Chicanas, because we will have to wrest our portion of power not only from Anglo males, minority males, but also from Anglo women eventually. Well, let's face it. You know, power is a difficult thing to get sometimes and a difficult thing to give up. And so it may have to come to that. I am not worried because I think the Anglo women do understand power and why we will have to do this.
>
> Last of all, *no queremos que nos da nada. Si no que no lo ponga no lo podemos tomar.* And that very simply is that we have a great deal of dignity, just like, you know, all other women, and that we do not want any handouts. We only want you to

share the opportunities with us, and we will take it.

Ida Powell, law student and former staff member with the Texas Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, outlined the process that a woman should go through in order to be hired. According to Ms. Powell, a woman should make an assessment of where jobs are and how to get hired. She suggested that women ask three questions: "What is there to know about me as an employee? What is there to know about the agency in which I think I want to develop professionally? And third, what do I plan to do with this self-knowledge and agency assessment?" She noted that Texas women must "become more familiar with the minute details of state agencies which have been locked in closets and sub-basements for years."

According to *Angie Flores*, a law student and former staff member in the Governor's Office of Equal Employment Opportunity, "sex discrimination in employment is a fact in state agencies." But, she stated, "it is also a fact that we as women have not coalesced with other women and with our natural allies in the endeavor to make employment more equitable." Ms. Flores said:

> We must recognize that affirmative action is not just about promoting one or two women, or setting goals and timetables for hiring more women. An employer cannot seriously expect to recruit and hire more women into his employment system without first examining its policies and procedures in attempting to pinpoint the negative internal factors which are continuing barriers in the system.

Ms. Flores noted that there are a number of specific techniques which might be applied in a job situation. But, she commented:

> These tools are usually only employed in the affirmative action plan setting, to which many employers are not committed. Texas does not have a fair employment practices law or a commission that will enforce fair practices or the federal laws. We cannot rely on the federal government entirely to enforce civil rights laws. We certainly cannot rely on the good will of male-dominated employment systems to do that.
>
> One possible solution would be for women for the first time to earnestly lobby and work for passage of legislation to create a fair employment practices commission which will aggressively investigate inequitable practices and enforce equal employment opportunity laws in all employment systems in this state.

Nancy Negley, President of the San Antonio Conservation Society, asked the group to remember the efforts of volunteer workers. She noted that one reason that many women "have looked with a jaundiced eye on volunteerists," is "because of lack of recognition of their expertise. They are routinely passed over at policy levels in institutions they are serving." She commented:

> I believe that it behooves women to seek authority at the policy making level because I think we have earned our spurs. We should have a voice in planning and operation. Women can contribute freshness, imagination, innovative approaches, along with their tireless energy and enthusiasm.

Jane Wells, a member of the State Board of Education, recounted her own experiences moving from a volunteer to paying position. She wanted to tell people "that, indeed, I was a qualified woman to be involved in public life."

> How do you put into resumé form all of those activities that you have been engaged in for over 20 years so that an employer will want to pay you to do those things you have been doing for 20 years for free? Have you tried it? It can be done. I hope that one of the activities that we might encourage volunteer groups in some very organized way to do will be to remind institutions who offer continuing education courses and other opportunities to help women understand how to put together a resumé that describes the competencies that they have but nobody has ever paid much attention to them because they have been offering them free, without any wish to be recognized, for all those years.

Ms. Wells noted that volunteer activity can allow a woman to develop many skills. But, she commented:

> Being more intentional about the way volunteers are involved can be a most productive thing for us in the future.
>
> Volunteerism can help you learn all of the things you want to do when you get into a different position of power, because volunteers are powerful too. They are the constituencies. They are the citizens. They are either the recipients or the providers of certain kinds of services. And so as we think about moving from being a volunteer to other positions of power, not just into positions of power, let us be very intentional about the choices we make. If you want to be elected, all of those things you have been doing in the past can be translated into ideas for what you want to do in public office in public life.
>
> If you want to remain a volunteer or if you want to get a job and be paid for it, then all of those things can also be translated into salable skills. And so let us set about being more intentional about the volunteerism in this country.

Summing up the session, Chairperson Hanna Gray noted that there are a number of powers that are relative to women in public life that are also relevant to them in their private capacities. Ms. Gray said:

> There is the power of self-knowledge and self-

awareness. There is the power of individuality and the acceptance of that individuality. There is the power of realism in the sense of what is real and how to go about things that is combined with a capacity not to accept current reality as the place to stop. There is the power of humor, and that power which brings with it a kind of perspective and a kind of way of looking in a balanced way at the world without seeing it as any less serious, without having any less determined a vision.

WORKSHOPS

Fifteen workshops, covering a wide variety of topics of interest to Texan women, provided a change in pace for participants in the Conference. The workshop sessions provided a smaller group setting for the discussion of practical approaches to common problems and a set of experienced facilitators to assist in that discussion. The sessions were planned and organized by members of an LBJ School of Public Affairs seminar on Public Policy on the Status of Women. (See list of sessions on page 37-38.)

The workshops demonstrated the diversity of women attending the meeting, in age and background, in interests, and in lifestyle. For some women, the issues which interested them dealt with obstacles to "getting out of the house;" others were concerned about the interpersonal and institutional obstacles to the development of a professional career. Some of the workshops focused on the provision of information which would allow women to make new life choices. Others provided an opportunity for women to share experiences and problems and had a "consciousness raising" quality. For some women, the women's movement took on overt political dimensions; for others, the movement was an extremely personal quest.

The discussion held during the workshop included these issues:

- A consideration of the problems which are experienced by women as political volunteers. While many women thought that volunteering was a valuable experience, they were concerned that dignity and respect be accorded the female volunteer in the political arena.
- A discussion of the dimensions of the women's movement—what is it, who is in it, what are its goals? The group focused on the need for women in the movement to work together yet, at the same time, to recognize that development as individuals is essential. Acknowledgement of individuality and diversity would allow women to recognize that common problems may be tackled in different ways.
- Problems involved with style of presentation of self were confronted by one workshop. Workshop participants were concerned that there be equality without the loss of civility. Yet they were convinced that a woman must see herself as a worthwhile individual and be able to prove it to others.
- Another session focused on the development of self-confidence and assertiveness on the job. Workshop members discussed examples and suggestions for methods of making their views known. The discussion also dealt with the "queen bee" syndrome and the double standards applied to behavior of assertive men and assertive women.
- Utilizing a series of role-playing exercises, another session focused on the development of administrative skills. Participants focused on issues related to personal appearance, difficulties that stem from responsibilities as both a mother and a worker, problems of relating to other women on the job, as well as an assortment of other problems faced by women in administrative positions.
- Some women were very concerned about lifestyle and public life. The discussion centered around the difficulties that women have if their lifestyles differ from the "norm." While participants in the session agreed that all women should struggle against this type of discrimination, they noted that women who choose different lifestyles do risk being considered "odd or weird" and may be harassed or penalized for that.
- While equal-pay laws are on the books, one workshop discussion suggested that many women still have problems receiving equal pay for equal work. Patterns of job classification which differentiate between male and female jobs simply by title were noted as one way in which double standards are perpetuated. Particular problems in this area are experienced by low income women who have few alternatives for other jobs.
- According to one workshop discussion, it was very hard for women to sort out positive aspects of multiple roles as a career woman, wife and mother. Although the participants agreed that combined roles could allow a woman to develop herself to her own potential, they noted that traditional expectations for a woman often made career development difficult. The discussants noted that feelings of guilt as a mother was one of the largest obstacles.
- Specific problems with child care were the topic of

discussion in another session. The issues covered included problems of the availability of child care, the need to work out sharing of child care responsibilities with a male spouse, job sharing and other arrangements which allowed a mother greater flexibility of work schedule.

- A discussion of the problems faced by women over 40 indicated that there is a definite need for career counseling for these women. The discussants noted that women often feel they need continued or new education to get back into the work force—but it is not always necessary. They suggested that women be more aggressive and self-confident about returning to the work force.

POWER—HOW TO GET IT AND HOW TO USE IT

Martha Griffiths

Congress and other legislative bodies in this country have been there a long time. And the heavy hand of tradition hangs over them. They have some very determined ideas. And it is really very poor judgment to go in the first day or the first week and tell them the terrible mistakes they have made, or how foolish they all are, because it is highly possible that even if you remain for 40 years after that you will never get a bill through that body. Therefore, in the beginning at least, if you are ever to be effective you should say "yes, sir," and "no sir," and pay attention to what you are doing so that you do not get off on the wrong foot with them.

The laws of this country are replete with examples that deny the value of a homemaker, laws that disregard, that fail to protect her, that permit her husband to cast her and their children aside and to marry a younger woman. If there are those among you who believe that the laws of this country protect the traditional American family, then I would like to disagree with you. The laws of this country protect men and their earnings. They protect if he says so, and to some extent if he does not, his current wife, or his widow when he dies. But they do not protect the wife of many years who has just been divorced.

And now let us talk about women using power. The family is a woman's natural domain. Almost all people will agree that it should be maintained. Why then can women not use their power to see that it is? In 1976 there will be elections, including those for precinct delegates all over the country. Women are 53 percent of the population. It would be fairly easy to have large numbers of women delegates in both parties at the precinct and national level. Many women should be encouraged to run for office at all levels. They should be urged to support those laws which maintain the family.

Naturally, I feel that passage of the Equal Rights Amendment would be the single most constructive thing that could be done. It would force the members of all legislative bodies, whether men or women, to consider how a law would affect women. Hopefully, having begun this exercise, they would then realize the value of their own lives. They would check to determine how children were supported, and they would enforce that support.

For those who may feel that the defeat of the ERA, the local ERA, in New Jersey and New York was a final blow, forget it. The truth is all political situations have their ups and downs. What that defeat should mean to every woman is that we must work harder and that we must spread more information.

Personally, I am convinced that the American people have good sense, and I do not believe you can fool them forever. If the truth is put before them they will understand it.

And this year the IWY subcommittee which I chair is going to be able to tell you the rights of every homemaker in every state in America, and hopefully the rights of the wife of any professional man. Because in some states women have a few more rights than in others. This information will be available in 1976 throughout this country. And we hope that there will be widespread opportunity for women to read it.

If we had a really well-organized group of women precinct delegates running in both parties, of women running for office in both parties, of women running for national delegates in both parties, then that truth could be spread around. And I personally feel that when the truth is known, the ERA could not be defeated.

Many people have sought power, some for their own pleasure, others for their own enrichment, and some just for the fun of being boss. But power should be used to promote justice. That really, in my judgment, is all that American power should be used for.

I feel that American men believe they have supported justice, and in many instances they have. But they have not where women are concerned. Because they do not understand the issue. They have never looked at the situation through a woman's eyes. In the real world all women are not supported by men, all children are not supported by fathers, all families do not endure forever. It is time, in the year 1976, that the meetings of women all across the country should join together, seize the power they are entitled to under the 19th amendment, and create a just world nearer to their heart's desire.

SUMMARY PANEL

The conference concluded with a summary discussion by a panel from the LBJ School of Public Affairs.

Professor *Beryl A. Radin* of the LBJ School said that although the diversity of opinion and varied backgrounds of the women attending the conference made it hard to measure the meeting's success, "we'll know this meeting is successful" if:

- The Texas Legislature at long last creates a commission on the status of women. "It's our dubious distinction to be the only state without such a commission," she said.
- Each woman attending the conference "finds that she is able to express her views in places where she previously felt intimidated; that she is no longer a secret feminist."
- The number of women running for office in Texas—and winning—increases multifold.
- The women who attended the conference go home and organize, petition, and attend meetings of their local governments and insure that adequate funds are available for social services or day care or rape crisis centers or other kinds of women's needs.

Mary Jo Seeman, one of five students from the LBJ School Policy Research Project on *Public Policy on the Status of Women* participating in the panel, said women have learned a lot in the traditional roles of mothers, homemakers, and volunteers. "It is time to translate these skills into the political sphere."

She said more self-respect and organization is needed "if we are going to help liberate both women and men."

Ms. Seeman said that more part-time jobs are needed as well as more day-care centers and that the needs of older women should also be considered.

RISING ABOVE DIFFERENCES

"If there is any lesson we have learned from this conference," said *Ellen Jones*, "it is that women are power."

She emphasized that women have different needs and that it is important for women to try to understand these different needs. She said, "We cannot let these different needs divide our movement. We must rise above the differences."

> We have found that the political process is not only a man's world, but it is an elitist's world, a world of stratification, with only those with the most money and influence on top. We must learn one lesson on our road to power: that we must move together as a united front because, as Nancy Negley pointed out, women throughout our history have been keepers of our heritage. Not only are we keepers, but we are molders of our heritage . . .

She urged participants to work "to overcome our timidity to face difficult situations."

Steve Cobble echoed Elizabeth Reid's warning about a male backlash against the women's movement. He compared it with the white backlash against blacks.

> Men have a combination of outright sexism—which should be met with anger, and just anger—and of real fear for loss of jobs, power, position, and security, the inability to deal with new roles, the changing roles. And I think that should be met with compassion. They have to somehow be dealt with separately.

Mr. Cobble said that not only is the election of women officials needed but that changes in our institutions are also important.

Nan McRaven said that there was a strong feeling at the conference that "the media has done us wrong."

She pointed to the non-substantive coverage given to women's activities.

> We cannot expect an institution that has misrepresented us in the past to know or do any differently today without our help. We need to start changing things ourselves. Let's stop waiting and hoping for the institution to change.

Melanie McCoy said, "When you speak of the international view of women's rights or the views of women throughout the world on the women's movement, you are really speaking of hundreds of diverse issues."

She said it is important to recognize this diversity

"but if the women of this world are to begin to shape the future, we must find some common ground, some unity, and some solidarity."

> Every woman must become a participant and an activist wherever she lives. It is no longer enough to merely agree on the way the world should be. To shape the future of the world implies the responsibility for decisions. It implies decision-making power. After Mexico City, what? Nothing, unless each woman in America and around the world wrests some of that decision-making power out of the hands of men.

In her closing remarks, Conference Coordinator *Liz Carpenter* said each woman must find her own assignment, "because no one is going to send you a neat and tidy package of instructions on what to do next."

Ms. Carpenter said, "The agenda really lies with you . . . and you certainly must know what has come through loud and clear: the power is you."

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

SUNDAY NOVEMBER 9

Evening

Theatre Party–LBJ Library Plaza and Auditorium

PANEL: Excerpts from pertinent motion pictures and television films–Moderator, Gloria Steinem, *Ms. Magazine*–Introduction by Harry Middleton, Library Director

"Rhoda"–James Brooks, Producer

"Maude" and "All in the Family"–Virginia Carter, Assistant to Norman Lear, Tandem Productions

"A Gathering for Change"–Ann Hassett, Director Special Projects, KNBC

MONDAY NOVEMBER 10

Morning

Reception for elected and appointed women in Texas at the Governor's Reception Room, State Capitol and the House of Representatives.

Hostesses: Mayor Lila Cockrell of San Antonio and women members of the Legislature and of the Austin City Council

How It Was–Emma Long, first city councilwoman of a major Texas city

How It is–A medley of reports from various parts of Texas

LBJ Library Auditorium–Opening Session

So Here We Are!–Liz Carpenter, Conference Coordinator

Welcomes–Dr. Lorene Rogers, President, The University of Texas at Austin; Dr. Mabel Deutrich, Assistant Archivist for the National Archives

After Mexico City–What?–The Honorable Elizabeth Reid of Australia

PANEL: COMMON AND UNCOMMON PROBLEMS AROUND THE WORLD–Moderator, Dr. Ruth Bacon, Director, U.S. Commission on IWY

Impressions of Mexico City–Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer, U.S. Commission on IWY

Cultural Differences Around the World–Dr. Ruth Adams, American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Emerging from the Veil–Elizabeth Fernea, Author, "Guest of the Sheik", "A View of the Nile"

Women in Africa–Sarale A. Owens, USIA Program Development Officer for Education

Between Two Worlds–Dr. Cleo Garcia, medical and civic leader in South Texas

Report from Red China–Elly Peterson, Consultant, National Center for Voluntary Action

The Latin American Experience–Elba Kybal, Advisor on Economic Integration, Organization of American States

The Women's Movement in the Orient–Dr. Dorothy Robins-Mowry, foreign service information officer and expert on Japanese women

Summarizer–Simone Poulain, former Deputy Director, State Department Office of Press Relations

Afternoon

Introduction of Barbara Jordan–Luci Johnson Nugent

The American Women in a Changing World–U.S. Representative Barbara Jordan of Texas

Trends in Foreign Policy and the Role of Women–Ambassador Carol Laise, Director-General, Foreign Service, Department of State

PANEL: THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT THROUGH THE EYES OF THE MEDIA–Moderators: Judith and Bill Moyers

Susan Tolchin, Author, *CLOUT*, Director, Washington Institute for Women in Politics

Sey Chassler, Editor, *Redbook* Magazine

Peggy Simpson, Associated Press and President, Washington Press Club

Isabelle Shelton, *Washington Star* columnist

Molly Ivins, co-editor, *The Texas Observer*

Susan Caudill, KERA-TV, Dallas

Scott Tagliarino, Editor, *The Daily Texan*

Summarizer: Lenore Hershey, Editor-in-Chief, *Ladies Home Journal*

RESPONDERS:

Jill Ruckelshaus, Presiding Officer, U.S. Commission on IWY

Mary Virginia Busby, U.S. Center for IWY

Deborah Leff, information specialist on the women's movement

Patricia Lindh, Assistant to President Ford

Cathy Bonner, public relations, chairperson, Austin Commission on the Status of Women

Evening

Texas Gala–LBJ Library–produced by Martha Tiller

Emcees Cactus Pryor and Sandy Duncan

"My Life and Hard Times in the Utility Room"–Erma Bombeck, columnist

"Women in All Ages",–Readers' Theatre presentation directed by Ken Johnson, Author, Jane Longo

The Strawberry Pickers–Peg Bradley, director

TUESDAY NOVEMBER 11

Morning

The United States Committee on Women in Power in open session at the LBJ Library. Hanna Gray, Provost of Yale University, presiding.

Women in Power Committee:

Hanna H. Gray, Provost Yale University

Anne L. Armstrong, Republican Leader

Casey Eike, University of Kansas

Audrey Rowe Colom, Children's Defense Fund

Rita Z. Johnston, Delegate to the Inter-American Commission of Women

Ersa H. Poston, New York State Civil Service Commission

Gerridee Wheeler, National Association of Mental Health

Betsey Wright, Women's Education Fund

Barbara H. Franklin, Consumer Product Safety Commission

Julia M. Walsh, Stockbroker

Olga Madar, President, CLUW

Elly M. Peterson, National Center for Voluntary Action

Evelyn Cunningham, Consultant

Liz Carpenter, Conference Coordinator

Dolores Tucker, Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

Sarah Weddington, Texas State Representative

PARTICIPANTS:

Jane McMichael, National Women's Political Caucus

Mary Miller, Director, WOVEN

Deborah Leff, information specialist on the women's movement

Barbara Wertheimer, Cornell University

Koryn Horball, Democratic Women's Committee

Annie Dodge Wauneka, Navajo Tribal Council

Exploring the Gains and the Gaps of Women in the Power Structure of Texas

Introduction of Committee members–Anne Armstrong

Presentation of Texas Witnesses–Representative Sarah Weddington of Austin

Timidity, The Basic Problem Here and Abroad–Frances T. Farenthold, former President, National Women's Political Caucus

The Judicial Picture: Don't Wait to Be Asked–Federal Judge Sarah T. Hughes

Beating the Old Boy Game–County Judge Mary Pearl Williams

Meet You in the Lobby:

Getting in the Door–Rosa Walker, lobbyist for AFL-CIO

Coalescing for Action–Barbara Vackar, Coordinator, Texans for ERA

The Elective Situation:

Getting on the Ticket–Mayor Lila Cockrell of San Antonio

Being Your Own Person Despite Pressures–Representative Chris Miller of Fort Worth

The Bumpy Campaign Trail–Ann Richards, Campaign Manager

Dealing in the Family–Representative Wilhelmina Delco of Austin

Getting a Bill Through–Representative Kay Bailey of Houston

Campaign from the Living Room and Garage

Representative of Dallas, Eddie Bernice Johnson

Afternoon

The Appointment Picture:

The Appointment Jobs Survey–Where the Jobs Are and Where Women Aren't–Lorey Gallop, Texas Womens Political Caucus

The Joy of Naming Women–Texas Supreme Court Judge Joe Greenhill

How to Get a Job–Selma Wells, member of Pardons and Paroles Board

The Gains and Gaps of the Rest of Us:

Volunteerism–What It Can Lead To–Jane Wells, Member, State Board of Education

The Chicano Woman–Martha Cotera, President, Mexican-American Business and Professional Women

Upward Mobility in Government–Ida Powell, law student and graduate of the LBJ School of Public Affairs

Making Employment Fairer–Angie Flores, law student, former EEOC Worker

From Volunteer to Trustee in the Arts–Nancy Negley, President, San Antonio Conservation Society

Workshops

Conference Overview

Power–How to Get It and How to Use It–Martha Griffiths, former Congresswoman from Michigan

Summary Panel–William B. Cannon, Dean LBJ School of Public Affairs

Beryl A Radin, Assistant Professor, LBJ School of Public Affairs

Steve Cobble, Ellen Jones, Mary Jo Seeman, Nan McCraven, Melanie McCoy–students, LBJ School of Public Affairs

WORKSHOP SCHEDULE

WOMEN AS POLITICAL VOLUNTEERS

What is the significance of women volunteers in the American political process? How can society deal with the professional volunteer and the issue of pay and benefits? What advantages or benefits are obtained from voluntary participation in the political arena? Are women abused as volunteers?

Facilitators: Vita Winick, Texas League of Women Voters; Frieda Davis, Texas State Democratic Party

Coordinator: Mary Jo Seeman, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

"ARE YOU ONE OF THOSE TROUBLEMAKING, GLORY-SEEKING WOMEN'S LIBBERS?"

What effect is the Women's Movement having on the political world? Is there a stigma attached to the movement? How are coalitions developed that represent a wide variety of approaches within the Women's Movement? What are the benefits of a united front? Should women help other women who are entering the political world? What about the "queen bees"—the women who have already made it?

Facilitators: Martha Smiley, chairperson, Texas Women's Political Caucus; Luz Escamilla, San Antonio Commission on the Status of Women

Coordinators: Rita Seymour and Leota Johnson, students, LBJ School of Public Affairs

HAVING YOUR CAKE AND EATING IT TOO: HOW SHOULD YOU BE TREATED?

What are the benefits as well as disadvantages afforded a woman in public life? Should women step off their pedestals? What might be the effect of this abdication? Does being a lady mean being less than equal? How does a woman in public life deal with general views of ladylike behavior?

Facilitators: Diana Hobby, wife of the Lieutenant Governor; Emmie Craddock, Mayor of San Marcos

Coordinator: Cathy Bruns, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

IT'S A MAN'S WORLD: DEVELOPING SELF CONFIDENCE AND ASSERTIVENESS

Are women's views and opinions discounted? What cultural patterns and role stereotypes inhibit women from exercising authority? What encourages men and other women to ignore a woman's authority? Why do women tend to downgrade their skills and accomplishments? How can women develop self confidence and assertiveness without being branded "aggressive" or accused of trying to act like a man?"

Facilitators: Billie Carr, Democratic National Committeewoman, Texas; Liz Levatino, Assistant Attorney General of Texas

Coordinator: Melanie McCoy, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

"CAN YOU TYPE?": ADMINISTRATIVE SKILL DEVELOPMENT

How do women learn to master red tape? Are resource management techniques especially difficult for women to perform? Do women depend on an organization's structure for their power rather than on charisma? How do women deal with crises in administration? Do women have special problems as bosses?

Facilitators: Andrea Beatty, Personnel Director, City of Austin; Kay Bard, Austin Model Cities Program

Coordinator: Mary Ann Hauber, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

LIFESTYLE AND PUBLIC LIFE

Can marital status affect a woman's career? Are single women given less money and fewer promotions than either single men or married men? What role does divorce play in a woman's career? Do women suffer sexual harassment on the job? What should married women do when they are told they work for "fun and pin money"?

Facilitators: Emma Lou Linn, Member of the City Council, Austin; Sue Gibalis, Texas Department of Public Welfare

Coordinator: Hannah Eisner, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

Are women making less money than men for the same work? What techniques have been devised to deal with this problem? Are there any justifiable differentiations? What problems exist with fringe benefits and retirement? What state and local remedies exist in this area? What federal policies protect women? Is new legislation needed?

Facilitators: Diane Van Helden, Governor's Office of Equal Employment Opportunity; Rhobia Taylor, Dallas

Regional Office, Department of Labor, Women's Bureau
Coordinator: Martha Katz, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

I'M A CAREER WOMAN, WIFE AND MOTHER . . .IN WHAT ORDER?

Does role conflict operate as a two-edged sword? With so many demands on her, how does a woman set priorities and allocate her time? How does role conflict alter the choices women make that affect their long-range goals in life? Are women asked to juggle an impossible mixture of responsibilities?

Facilitators: Wilhelmina Delco, member, Texas State House of Representatives; Martha Williams, School of Social Work, University of Texas
Coordinator: Ellen Jones, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

BUT WHAT ABOUT THE CHILDREN?

What is a mother's role in child-raising? What does that mean for her career? How can child-raising responsibilities be shared? What child care facilities are available in this state? What alternative work styles are possible for men and women? Is job sharing possible?

Facilitators: Janice Robinson, Texas Office of Early Childhood Development; Ella Salazar, Child Inc.
Coordinator: Frank Sturzl, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

AFTER 40?

What happens to a woman after the children are grown? Do older women have problems that are different from those of older men? What happens to women who attempt to return to the work force? What avenues of assistance are available to women who seek their first jobs at an older age?

Facilitators: Frances Plotsky, Coordinator for Continuing Education for Men and Women, UT; Mary Tisinger, Adult Services Council
Coordinator: Peggy Wilson, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

POLITICAL SKILL DEVELOPMENT

How does a woman organize a campaign staff? How important is a party's support? How does one get a party endorsement and what should one ask from it? Are financial sources different for a woman's campaign than for a man's? What is the general procedure for getting on the ballot? How does a woman make herself known? Are there natural groups of support for a woman? How can the media be used to a woman's best advantage?

Facilitators: Jane Wells, member, State Board of Education; Beryl Milburn, Republican State Committee
Coordinator: Nan McRaven, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

WOMEN AND THE LAW

What techniques will help women learn the legal protections within present statutes? What changes in women's legal status would flow from ERA? How does administrative law affect women in public life? How effective are legal remedies for change?

Facilitators: Carol Haberman, City Judge, San Antonio; Louise Razzio, Dallas Attorney
Coordinator: Gwen Winnig, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

GETTING AHEAD

What changes have occurred as the result of legal opportunities for women since the 1960's? How can women combat the traditional blocks to upward mobility? Must women beat the "good ole boys" at their own game? How can women learn to change individual and institutional discrimination? Do women fear success?

Facilitators: Judy Tully, Department of Sociology, University of Texas, Austin; June Hyer, Vice Chancellor, University of Houston at Clearlake
Coordinator: Fran Zorn, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

WOMEN AND THE LOBBYING PROCESS

How do women support interests that are women's issues? How does a woman work with existing interest groups? What are women's issues? Is use of "feminine" techniques a bad means to a good end? How can women confront sexism in politicians without hurting their cause? Do women have special abilities as lobbyists?

Facilitators: Barbara Vackar, Director, Texans for ERA; Ruth Ellinger, Texas State AFL-CIO
Coordinator: Steve Cobble, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

I DON'T WANT TO BE A MAN! THE MYTH OF FEMINITY LOST

Can a woman act and dress femininely yet be treated as an equal by her male peers? Must a woman be aggressive to get her point across? Can and/or should a woman use her femininity? Should woman be treated differently from men? How do women react to other women as bosses?

Facilitators: Ann Richards, aide to Representative Sarah Weddington; Barbara Meyers
Coordinator: Mary Ann Coursey, student, LBJ School of Public Affairs

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